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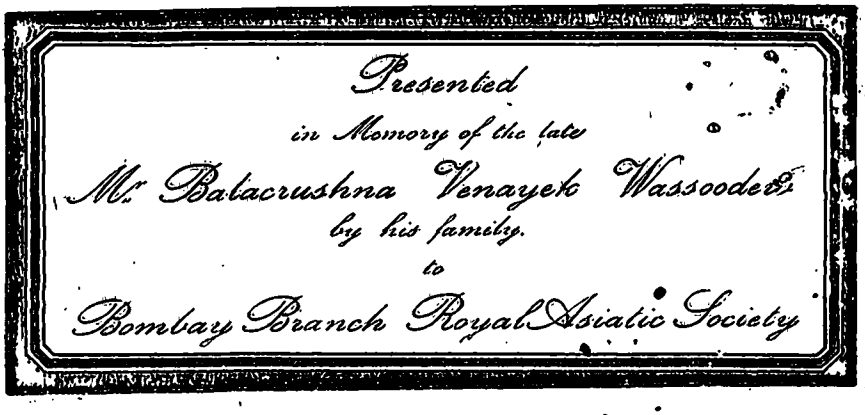

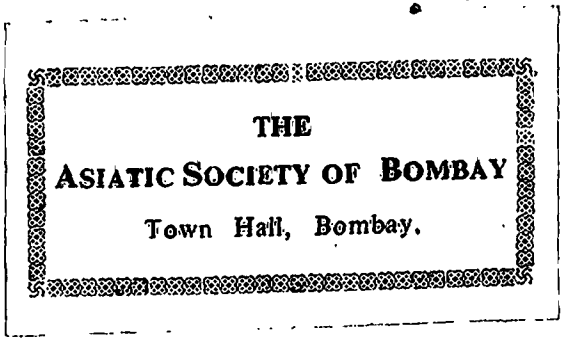

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

BY EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

VOL. X.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

TENTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LII.

The two sieges of Constantinople by the Arabs.—Their invasion of France, and defeat by Charles Martel.—Civil war of the Ommiades and Abbassides.—Learning of the Arabs.—Luxury of the caliphs.—Naval enterprises on Crete, Sicily, and Rome.—Decay and division of the empire of the caliphs.—Defeats and victories of the Greek emperors.

A. D.		Page
668–675.	The limits of the Arabian conquests,	1
	First siege of Constantinople by the Arabs,	2
677	Peace and tribute,	6
716–718.	Second siege of Constantinople,	8
	Failure and retreat of the Saracens,	13
	Invention and use of the Greek fire,	14
720	Invasion of France by the Arabs,	18
731	Expedition and victories of Abderame,	21
732	Defeat of the Saracens by Charles Martel,	23
	They retreat before the Franks,	27
746–750.	Elevation of the Abbassides,	28
750	Fall of the Ommiades,	32
755	Revolt of Spain,	33
	Triple division of the Caliphate,	34
750–960.	Magnificence of the caliphs,	35
	Its consequences on private and public happiness,	39

A. D. Page.
754, &c. 813, &c. Introduction of Learning among the Arabians, ... 41
Their real progress in the sciences, ... 44
Want of erudition, taste, and freedom, ... 50
781–805. Wars of Haran al Rashid against the Romans, 52
823 The Arabs subdue the isle of Crete, ... 58
827–878. And of Sicily, ... 59
846 Invasion of Rome by the Saracens, ... 61
842 Victory and reign of Leo IV, ... 64
852 Foundation of the Leonine city, ... 66
838 The Amorian war between Theophilus and Motassem, 67
841–870. Disorders of the Turkish guards, ... 71
890–951. Rise and progress of the Carmathians, ... 74
900 Their military exploits, ... 76
929 They pillage Mecca, ... 77
800–936. Revolt of the provinces, ... 78
The independent dynasties, ... 79
800–941. The Aglabites, ... ib.
829–907. The Edrisites, ... 80
813–872. The Taherites, ... ib.
872–902. The Soffarides, ... ib.
874–999. The Samanides, ... 81
868–905. The Toulonides, ... 82
934–968. The Ikshidites, ... ib.
892–1001. The Hamadanites, ... ib.
933–1055. The Bowides, ... 83
936 Fallen state of the caliphs of Bagdad, ... ib.
960 Enterprises of the Greeks, ... 86
Reduction of Crete, ... 88
963–975. The Eastern conquests of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces, ... 88
Conquest of Cilicia, ... ib.
Invasion of Syria, ... 89
Recovery of Antioch, ... 90
Passage of the Euphrates, ... 91
Danger of Bagdad, ... 92

CHAP. LIII.

State of the Eastern empire in the tenth century.—Extent and division.—Wealth and revenue.—Palace of Constantinople.—Titles and offices.—Pride and power of the emperors.—Tactics of the Greeks, Arabs, and Franks.—Loss of the Latin tongue.—Studies and solitude of the Greeks.

A. D.		Page.
	Memorials of the Greek empire,	94
	Works of Constantine Porphyrogenitus,	ib.
	Their imperfections,	96
	Embassy of Liutprand,	99
	The Themes, or provinces of the empire, and its limits in every age,	100
	General wealth and populousness,	103
	State of Peloponnesus: Sclavonians,	105
	Freemen of Laconia,	106
	Cities and revenue of Peloponnesus,	107
	Manufactures—especially of silk,	108
	Transported from Greece to Sicily,	110
	Revenue of the Greek empire,	112
	Pomp and luxury of the emperors,	113
	The palace of Constantinople,	114
	Furniture and attendants,	117
	Honours and titles of the imperial family,	119
	Offices of the palaces, the state, and the army,	121
	Adoration of the emperor,	124
	Audience of ambassadors,	125
	Processions and acclamations,	126
	Marriage of the Cæsars with foreign nations,	128
	Imaginary law of Constantine,	129
733	The first exception,	130
941	The second,	ib.
943	The third,	ib.
972	Otho of Germany,	132
988	Wolodomir of Russia,	133
	Despotic power,	134
	Coronation oath,	ib.

A. D. Page.
Military force of the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, ... 136
Navy of the Greeks, ... 145
Tactics and character of the Greeks, ... 146
Character and tactics of the Saracens, ... 144
The Franks or Latins, ... 147
Their character and tactics, ... 149
Oblivion of the Latin language, ... 152
The Greek emperors and their subjects retain and assert the name of Romans, ... 155
Period of ignorance, ... 156
Revival of Greek learning, ... 157
Decay of taste and genius, ... 161
Want of national emulation, ... 163

CHAP. LIV.

Origin and doctrine of the Paulicians.—Their persecution by the Greek emperors.—Revolt in Armenia, &c.—Transplantation into Thrace.—Propagation in the West.—The seeds, character, and consequences, of the reformation.

A. D. Page.
Supine superstition of the Greek church, ... 166
660 Origin of the Paulicians, or disciples of St Paul, ... 168
Their bible, ... 169
The simplicity of their belief and worship, ... 171
They hold the two principles of the Magian Manichæans, ... 172
The establishment of the Paulicians in Armenia, Pontus, &c. ... 173
Persecution of the Greek emperors, ... 175
845-880. Revolt of the Paulicians, ... 177
They fortify Tephrice, ... 178
And pillage Asia Minor, ... 179
Their decline, ... 181
Their transplantation from Armenia to Thrace, ... ib.
Their introduction into Italy and France, ... 185
1200 Persecution of the Albigeois, ... 187
Character and consequences of the reformation, ... 188

CHAP. LV.

The Bulgarians.—Origin, migrations, and settlement, of the Hungarians.—Their inroads in the East and West.—The monarchy of Russia.—Geography and trade.—Wars of the Russians against the Greek empire.—Conversion of the barbarians.

A. D.		Page.
680	Emigration of the Bulgarians,	195
900	Croats or Sclavonians of Dalmatia,	198
640–1017.	First kingdom of the Bulgarians,	199
884	Emigration of the Turks or Hungarians,	203
	Their Fennic origin,	206
900	Tactics and manners of the Hungarians and Bulgarians,	208
889	Establishment and inroads of the Hungarians,	211
934	Victory of Henry the Fowler,	215
955	——— of Otho the Great,	216
839	Origin of the Russian monarchy,	219
	The Varangians of Constantinople,	222
950	Geography and trade of Russia,	223
	Naval expeditions of the Russians against Constantinople,	228
865	The first,	230
904	The second,	ib.
941	The third,	231
1043	The fourth,	232
	Negotiations and prophecy,	ib.
945–973.	Reign of Swatoslaus,	233
970–973.	His defeat by John Zimisces,	236
864	Conversion of Russia,	238
955	Baptism of Olga,	239
988	——— of Wolodomir,	241
800–1100.	Christianity of the North,	242

CHAP. LVI.

The Saracens, Franks, and Greeks, in Italy.—First adventures and settlements of the Normans.—Character and conquests of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia.—Deliverance of Sicily by his brother Roger.—Victories of Robert over the emperors of the East and West.—Roger, king of Sicily, invades Africa and Greece.—The emperor Manuel Comnenus.—Wars of the Greeks and Normans.—Extinction of the Normans.

A. D.		Page.
840-1017.	Conflict of the Saracens, Latins, and Greeks, in Italy,	246
871	Conquest of Bari,	248
890	New province of the Greeks in Italy,	249
983	Defeat of Otho III,	251
	Anecdotes,	252
1016	Origin of the Normans in Italy,	254
1029	Foundation of Aversa,	259
1038	The Normans serve in Sicily,	260
1040-1043.	Their conquest of Apulia,	262
	Character of the Normans,	264
1046	Oppression of Apulia,	ib.
1049-1054.	League of the pope and the two empires,	266
1053	Expedition of pope Leo IX. against the Normans,	267
	His defeat and captivity,	268
	Origin of the papal investitures to the Normans,	270
1020-1085.	Birth and character of Robert Guiscard,	ib.
1054-1080.	His ambition and success,	274
1060	Duke of Apulia,	276
	His Italian conquests,	277
	School of Salerno,	278
	Trade of Amalphi,	279
1060-1090.	Conquest of Sicily by Count Roger,	281
1081	Robert invades the Eastern empire,	284
	Siege of Durazzo,	287
	The army and march of the emperor Alexius,	290
	Battle of Durazzo,	294

A. D.		Page.
1082	Durazzo taken,	297
	Return of Robert, and actions of Bohemond,	298
1081	The emperor Henry III. invited by the Greeks,	300
1081-1084.	Besieges Rome,	302
	Flies before Robert,	303
1082	Second expedition of Robert into Greece,	304
1085	His death,	307
1101-1154.	Reign and ambition of Roger, great count of Sicily,	308
1127	Duke of Apulia,	309
1130-1139.	First king of Sicily,	310
1122-1152.	His conquests in Africa,	311
1146	His invasion of Greece,	314
	His admiral delivers Louis VII. of France,	316
	Insults Constantinople,	ib.
1148-1149.	The emperor Manuel repulses the Normans,	317
1155	He reduces Apulia and Calabria,	318
1155-1174.	His desire of acquiring Italy and the Western empire,	319
	Failure of his designs,	321
1156	Peace with the Normans,	323
1185	Last war of the Greeks and Normans,	ib.
1154-1166.	William I. the Bad, king of Sicily,	324
1166-1189.	William II. the Good,	326
	Lamentation of the historian Falcandus,	ib.
1194	Conquest of the kingdom of Sicily by the emperor Henry VI.,	329
1204	Final extinction of the Normans,	332

CHAP. LVII.

The Turks of the house of Seljuk.—Their revolt against Mahmud, conqueror of Hindostan.—Togrul subdues Persia, and protects the caliphs.—Defeat and captivity of the emperor Romanus Diogenes by Alp Arslan.—Power and magnificence of Malek Shah.—Conquest of Asia Minor and Syria.—State and oppression of Jerusalem.—Pilgrimages to the holy sepulchre.

A. D.		Page.
	The Turks,	333
967-1028.	Mahmud, the Gaznevide,	334
	His twelve expeditions into Hindostan,	335
	His character,	338
980–1028.	Manners and emigrations of the Turks, or Turkmans,	340
1038	They defeat the Gaznevides, and subdue Persia,	344
1038–1152.	Dynasty of the Seljukians,	ib.
1038–1063.	Reign and character of Togrul Beg,	345
1055	He delivers the calph of Bagdad,	348
	His investiture,	349
1063	And death,	350
1050	The Turks invade the Roman empire,	351
1063–1072.	Reign of Alp Arslan,	352
1065–1068.	Conquest of Armenia and Georgia,	ib.
1068–1071.	The emperor Romanus Diogenes,	354
1071	Defeat of the Romans,	356
	Captivity and deliverance of the emperor,	358
1072.	Death of Alp Arslan,	361
1072–1092.	Reign and prosperity of Malek Shah,	363
1092	His death,	367
	Division of the Seljukian empire,	368
1074–1084.	Conquest of Asia Minor by the Turks,	370
	The Seljukian kingdom of Roum,	372
638–1099.	State and pilgrimage of Jerusalem,	375
969–1076.	Under the Fatimite caliphs,	379
1009	Sacrilege of Hakem,	381
1024	Increase of pilgrimages,	382
1076–1096.	Conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks,	383

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CHAP. LII.

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CHAP. LII.

The limits of the Arabian conquests.

When the Arabs first issued from the desert, they must have been surprised at the ease and rapidity of their own success. But when they advanced in the career of victory to the banks of the Indus and the summit of the Pyrenees; when they had repeatedly tried the edge of their scymetars and the energy of their faith, they might be

CHAP. LII.

equally astonished that any nation could resist their invincible arms, that any boundary should confine the dominion of the successor of the prophet. The confidence of soldiers and fanatics may indeed be excused, since the calm historian of the present hour, who strives to follow the rapid course of the Saracens, must study to explain by what means the church and state were saved from this impending, and, as it should seem, from this inevitable danger. The deserts of Scythia and Sarmatia might be guarded by their extent, their climate, their poverty, and the courage of the northern shepherds; China was remote and inaccessible; but the greatest part of the temperate zone was subject to the Mahometan conquerors, the Greeks were exhausted by the calamities of war and the loss of their fairest provinces, and the barbarians of Europe might justly tremble at the precipitate fall of the Gothic monarchy. In this enquiry I shall unfold the events that rescued our ancestors of Britain, and our neighbours of Gaul, from the civil and religious yoke of the koran; that protected the majesty of Rome, and delayed the servitude of Constantinople; that invigorated the defence of the Christians, and scattered among their enemies the seeds of division and decay.

First siege of Constantinople by the Arabs.

Forty-six years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, his disciples appeared in arms under the walls of Constantinople.* They were ani-

* Theophanes places the *seven* years of the siege of Constantinople in the year of *our* christian æra 673 (of the Alexandrian 665 Sept. 1), and the peace of the Saracens, *four* years afterwards; a

mated by a genuine or fictitious saying of the prophet, that, to the first army which besieged the city of the Cæsars, their sins were forgiven: the long series of Roman triumphs would be meritoriously transferred to the conquerors of new Rome; and the wealth of nations was deposited in this well-chosen seat of royalty and commerce. No sooner had the caliph Moawiyah suppressed his rivals and established his throne, than he aspired to expiate the guilt of civil blood, by the success and glory of his holy expedition;[b] his preparations by sea and land were adequate to the importance of the object; his standard was entrusted to Sophian, a veteran warrior, but the troops were encouraged by the example and presence of Yezid, the son and presumptive heir of the commander of the faithful. The Greeks had little to hope, nor had their enemies any reasons of fear, from the courage and vigilance of the reigning emperor, who disgraced the name of Constantine, and imitated only the inglorious years of his grandfather Heraclius. Without delay or opposition, the naval forces of the Saracens passed through the unguarded channel of the Hellespont, which even now, under the fee-

CHAP. LII.

A. D. 668-675.

glaring inconsistency! which Petavius, Goar, and Pagi (Critica, tom. iv, p. 63, 64), have struggled to remove. Of the Arabians, the hegira 52 (A. D. 672, January 8), is assigned by Elmacin, the year 48 (A. D. 668, Feb. 20), by Abulfeda, whose testimony I esteem the most convenient and creditable.

[b] For this first siege of Constantinople, see Nicephorus (Breviar. p. 21, 22); Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 294); Cedrenus (Compend. p. 437); Zonaras (Hist. tom. ii, l. xiv, p. 89); Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 56, 57); Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 107, 108, vers. Reiske); d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. Constantinah); Ockley's History of the Saracens, vol. ii, p. 127, 128.

CHAP. LII.

ble and disorderly government of the Turks, is maintained as the natural bulwark of the capital.[c] The Arabian fleet cast anchor, and the troops were disembarked near the palace of Hebdomon, seven miles from the city. During many days, from the dawn of light to the evening, the line of assault was extended from the golden gate to the eastern promontory, and the foremost warriors were impelled by the weight and effort of the succeeding columns. But the besiegers had formed an insufficient estimate of the strength and resources of Constantinople. The solid and lofty walls were guarded by numbers and discipline: the spirit of the Romans was rekindled by the last danger of their religion and empire: the fugitives from the conquered provinces more successfully renewed the defence of Damascus and Alexandria; and the Saracens were dismayed by the strange and prodigious effects of artificial fire. This firm and effectual resistance diverted their arms to the more easy attempts of plundering the European and Asiatic coasts of the Propontis; and, after keeping the sea from the month of April to that of September, on the approach of winter they retreated fourscore miles from the capital, to the isle of Cyzicus, in which they had established their

[c] The state and defence of the Dardanelles is exposed in the Memoires du Baron de Tott (tom. iii, p. 89-97), who was sent to fortify them against the Russians. From a principal actor, I should have expected more accurate details; but he seems to write for the amusement, rather than the instruction, of his reader. Perhaps, on the approach of the enemy, the minister of Constantine was occupied, like that of Mustapha, in finding two Canary birds, who should sing precisely the same note.

magazine of spoil and provisions. So patient was their perseverance, or so languid were their operations, that they repeated, in the six following summers, the same attack and retreat, with a gradual abatement of hope and vigour, till the mischances of shipwreck and disease, of the sword and of fire, compelled them to relinquish the fruitless enterprise. They might bewail the loss, or commemorate the martyrdom, of thirty thousand Moslems, who fell in the siege of Constantinople; and the solemn funeral of Abu Ayub, or Job, excited the curiosity of the Christians themselves. That venerable Arab, one of the last of the companions of Mahomet, was numbered among the *ansars*, or auxiliaries, of Medina, who sheltered the head of the flying prophet. In his youth he fought, at Beder and Ohud, under the holy standard: in his mature age he was the friend and follower of Ali; and the last remnant of his strength and life was consumed in a distant and dangerous war against the enemies of the koran. His memory was revered; but the place of his burial was neglected and unknown, during a period of seven hundred and eighty years, till the conquest of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second. A seasonable vision (for such are the manufacture of every religion) revealed the holy spot at the foot of the walls and the bottom of the harbour; and the mosch of Ayub has been deservedly chosen for the simple and martial inauguration of the Turkish sultans.[d]

[d] D'ohsson in Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman Empire, p. 105, 106. Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 10, 11. Voyages de The-

CHAP. LII.

Peace and tribute, A. D. 677.

The event of the siege revived, both in the East and West, the reputation of the Roman arms, and cast a momentary shade over the glories of the Saracens. The Greek ambassador was favourably received at Damascus, in a general council of the emirs or koreish; a peace, or truce, of thirty years, was ratified between the two empires; and the stipulation of an annual tribute, fifty horses of a noble breed, fifty slaves, and three thousand pieces of gold, degraded the majesty of the commander of the faithful.[e] The aged caliph was desirous of possessing his dominions, and ending his days in tranquillity and repose; while the Moors and Indians trembled at his name, his palace and city of Damascus was insulted by the Mardaites, or Maronites, of Mount Libanus, the firmest barrier of the empire, till they were disarmed and transplanted by the suspicious policy of the Greeks.[f] After the revolt of Arabia and Persia, the house of Ommiyah[g] was reduced to the king-

venot, part i, p. 189. The Christians, who suppose that the martyr Abu Ayub is vulgarly confounded with the patriarch Job, betray their own ignorance rather than that of the Turks.

[e] Theophanes, though a Greek, deserves credit for these tributes (Chronograph. p. 295, 296-300, 301), which are confirmed, with some variation, by the Arabic History of Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 128, vers. Pocock).

[f] The censure of Theophanes is just and pointed, τον Ρωμαικον ἀνατολιαν ἀκρωτηριασας . . . . . παυδινα κακα πεπονθεν ἡ Ρωμανια ὑπο των Αραβων μεχρι της νυν (Chronograph. p. 302, 303). The series of these events may be traced in the Annals of Theophanes, and in the Abridgement of the Patriarch Nicephorus, p. 22-24.

[g] These domestic revolutions are related in a clear and natural style, in the second volume of Ockley's History of the Saracens, p. 253-370. Besides our printed authors, he draws his materials from the Arabic MSS. of Oxford, which he would have more deeply

doms of Syria and Egypt; their distress and fear enforced their compliance with the pressing demands of the Christians; and the tribute was increased to a slave, an horse, and a thousand pieces of gold, for each of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the solar year. But as soon as the empire was again united by the arms and policy of Abdalmelek, he disclaimed a badge of servitude not less injurious to his conscience than to his pride; he discontinued the payment of the tribute; and the resentment of the Greeks was disabled from action by the mad tyranny of the second Justinian, the just rebellion of his subjects, and the frequent change of his antagonists and successors. Till the reign of Abdalmalek, the Saracens had been content with the free possession of the Persian and Roman treasures, in the coin of Chosroes and Cæsar. By the command of that caliph, a national mint was established, both of silver and gold, and the inscription of the dinar, though it might be censured by some timorous casuists, proclaimed the unity of the God of Mahomet.[h] Under the reign CHAP. LII.

searched, had he been confined to the Bodleian library instead of the city jail; a fate how unworthy of the man and of his country!

[h] Elmacin, who dates the first coinage A. H. 76, A. D. 695, five or six years later than the Greek historians, has compared the weight of the best or common gold dinar, to the drachm or dirhem of Egypt, (p. 77), which may be equal to two pennies (48 grains,) of our Troy weight (Hooper's Enquiry into Ancient Measures, p. 24-36), and equivalent to eight shillings of our sterling money. From the same Elmacin and the Arabian physicians, some dinars as high as two dirhems, as low as half a dirhem, may be deduced. The piece of silver was the dirhem, both in value and weight; but an old, though fair coin, struck at Waset, A. H. 88, and preserved in the Bodleian

CHAP. LII.

of the caliph Waled, the Greek language and characters were excluded from the accounts of the public revenue.[i] If this change was productive of the invention or familiar use of our present numerals, the Arabic or Indian cyphers, as they are commonly styled, a regulation of office has promoted the most important discoveries of arithmetic, algebra, and the mathematical sciences.[k]

Second siege of Constantinople, A. D. 716-718.

Whilst the caliph Waled sat idle on the throne of Damascus, while his lieutenants achieved the conquest of Transoxiana and Spain, a third army of Saracens overspread the provinces of Asia Minor, and approached the borders of the Byzantine capital. But the attempt and disgrace of the second siege, was reserved for his brother Soliman, whose ambition appears to have been quickened by a more active and martial spirit. In the revolutions of the Greek empire, after the tyrant Justinian had been punished and avenged, an humble secretary, Anastasius or Artemius, was promoted by chance or merit to the vacant pur-

library, wants four grains of the Cairo standard (see the Modern Univ. History, tom. i, p. 518, of the French translation).

[i] Και εκωλυσε γραφεσθαι ελληνιςι τυς δημοσιυς των λογοθεσιων καδικας, αλλ' Αραβιοις αυτα παρασημαινεσθαι χωρις των ψηφων, επειδη αδυνατον τη ελληνων γλωσση μοναδα, η δυαδα, η τριαδα, η οκτω ημισυ η τρια γραφεσθαι. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 314. This defect, if it really existed, must have stimulated the ingenuity of the Arabs to invent or borrow.

[k] According to a new, though probable notion, maintained by M. de Villoison (Anecdota Graeca, tom. ii, p. 152-157), our cyphers are not of Indian or Arabic invention. They were used by the Greek and Latin arithmeticians long before the age of Boethius. After the extinction of science in the West, they were adopted by the Arabic versions from the original MSS. and *restored* to the Latins about the eleventh century.

ple. He was alarmed by the sound of war; and his ambassador returned from Damascus with the tremendous news, that the Saracens were preparing an armament by sea and land, such as would transcend the experience of the past, or the belief of the present age. The precautions of Anastasius were not unworthy of his station, or of the impending danger. He issued a peremptory mandate, that all persons who were not provided with the means of subsistence for a three years siege, should evacuate the city; the public granaries and arsenals were abundantly replenished; the walls were restored and strengthened; and the engines for casting stones, or darts, or fire, were stationed along the ramparts, or in the brigantines of war, of which an additional number was hastily constructed. To prevent, is safer, as well as more honourable, than to repel an attack; and a design was meditated, above the usual spirit of the Greeks, of burning the naval stores of the enemy, the cypress timber that had been hewn in mount Libanus, and was piled along the sea-shore of Phœnicia, for the service of the Egyptian fleet. This generous enterprise was defeated by the cowardice or treachery of the troops, who, in the new language of the empire, were styled of the *obsequian theme*.[1] They murdered their chief, deserted their standard in the isle of Rhodes, dispersed themselves

CHAP. LII.

[1] In the division of the *themes*, or provinces described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus de Thematibus, (*l. i, p. 9, 10*), the *obsequium*, a Latin appellation of the army and palace, was the fourth in the public order. Nice was the metropolis, and its jurisdiction extended from the Hellespont over the adjacent parts of Bithynia and Phrygia (see the two maps prefixed by Delisle to the Imperium Orientale of Banduri).

CHAP. LII.

over the adjacent continent, and deserved pardon or reward by investing with the purple a simple officer of the revenue. The name of Theodosius might recommend him to the senate and people; but, after some months, he sunk into a cloister, and resigned, to the firmer hand of Leo, the Isaurian, the urgent defence of the capital and empire. The most formidable of the Saracens, Moslemah, the brother of the caliph, was advancing at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand Arabs and Persians, the greater part mounted on horses or camels; and the successful sieges of Tyana, Amorium, and Pergamus, were of sufficient duration to exercise their skill, and to elevate their hopes. At the well-known passage of Abydus, on the Hellespont, the Mahometan arms were transported, for the first time, from Asia to Europe. From thence, wheeling round the Thracian cities of the Propontis, Moslemah invested Constantinople on the land side, surrounded his camp with a ditch and rampart, prepared and planted his engines of assault, and declared, by words and actions, a patient resolution of expecting the return of seed-time and harvest, should the obstinacy of the besieged prove equal to his own. The Greeks would gladly have ransomed their religion and empire, by a fine or assessment of a piece of gold on the head of each inhabitant of the city: but the liberal offer was rejected with disdain, and the presumption of Moslemah was exalted by the speedy approach and invincible force of the navies of Egypt and Syria. They are said to have

amounted to eighteen hundred ships: the number betrays their inconsiderable size; and of the twenty stout and capacious vessels, whose magnitude impeded their progress, each was manned with no more than one hundred heavy armed soldiers. This huge armada proceeded on a smooth sea and with a gentle gale, towards the mouth of the Bosphorus; the surface of the streight was overshadowed, in the language of the Greeks, with a moving forest, and the same fatal night had been fixed by the Saracen chief for a general assault by sea and land. To allure the confidence of the enemy, the emperor had thrown aside the chain that usually guarded the entrance of the harbour; but while they hesitated whether they should seize the opportunity, or apprehend the snare, the ministers of destruction were at hand. The fireships of the Greeks were launched against them; the Arabs, their arms, and vessels, were involved in the same flames; the disorderly fugitives were dashed against each other, or overwhelmed in the waves; and I no longer find a vestige of the fleet, that had threatened to extirpate the Roman name. A still more fatal and irreparable loss was that of the caliph Soliman, who died of an indigestion[m] in his camp near Kinnisrin, or Chalcis, in Syria, as he was preparing to lead against Constantinople the re-

CHAP. LII.

[m] The caliph had emptied two baskets of eggs and of figs, which he swallowed alternately, and the repast was concluded with marrow and sugar. In one of his pilgrimages to Mecca, Soliman ate, at a single meal, seventy pomegranates, a kid, six fowls, and a huge quantity of the grapes of Tayef. If the bill of fare be correct, we must admire the appetite rather than the luxury of the sovereign of Asia (Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. 126).

CHAP. LII.

maining forces of the East. The brother of Moslemah was succeeded by a kinsman and an enemy; and the throne of an active and able prince was degraded by the useless and pernicious virtues of a bigot. While he started and satisfied the scruples of a blind conscience, the siege was continued through the winter by the neglect rather than by the resolution of the caliph Omar.[n] The winter proved uncommonly rigorous: above an hundred days the ground was covered with deep snow, and the natives of the sultry climes of Egypt and Arabia lay torpid and almost lifeless in their frozen camp. They revived on the return of spring; a second effort had been made in their favour; and their distress was relieved by the arrival of two numerous fleets, laden with corn, and arms, and soldiers; the first from Alexandria, of four hundred transports and gallies; the second of three hundred and sixty vessels from the ports of Africa. But the Greek fires were again kindled, and if the destruction was less complete, it was owing to the experience which had taught the moslems to remain at a safe distance, or to the perfidy of the Egyptian mariners, who deserted with their ships to the emperor of the Christians. The trade and navigation of the capital were restored; and the produce of the

[n] See the article of Omar Ben Abdalaziz, in the Bibliotheque Orientale (p. 689, 690), præferens, says Elmacin (p. 91), religionem suam rebus suis mundanis. He was so desirous of being with God, that he would not have anointed his ear (his own saying) to obtain a perfect cure of his last malady. The caliph had only one shirt, and in an age of luxury his annual expence was no more than two drachms (Abulpharagius, p. 131). Haud diu gavisus eo principe fuit orbis Moslemus (Abulfeda, p. 107).

CHAP. LII.

fisheries supplied the wants, and even the luxury, of the inhabitants. But the calamities of famine and disease were soon felt by the troops of Moslemah, and as the former was miserably assuaged, so the latter was dreadfully propagated, by the pernicious nutriment which hunger compelled them to extract from the most unclean or unnatural food. The spirit of conquest, and even of enthusiasm, was extinct: the Saracens could no longer straggle beyond their lines, either single or in small parties, without exposing themselves to the merciless retaliation of the Thracian peasants. An army of Bulgarians was attracted from the Danube by the gifts and promises of Leo; and these savage auxiliaries made some atonement for the evils which they had inflicted on the empire, by the defeat and slaughter of twenty-two thousand Asiatics. A report was dexterously scattered, that the Franks, the unknown nations of the Latin world, were arming by sea and land, in the defence of the christian cause, and their formidable aid was expected with far different sensations in the camp and city. At length, after a siege of thirteen months,[o] the hopeless Moslemah received from the caliph the welcome permission of retreat. The march of the Arabian cavalry over the Hellespont, and through the provinces of Asia, was executed without delay or molestation; but an army of their

Failure and retreat of the Saracens.

[o] Both Nicephorus and Theophanes agree, that the siege of Constantinople was raised the fifteenth of August (A. D. 718); but as the former, our best witness, affirms that it continued thirteen months, the latter must be mistaken in supposing that it began on the same day of the preceding year. I do not find that Pagi has remarked this inconsistency.

CHAP. LII.

brethren had been cut in pieces on the side of Bithynia, and the remains of the fleet was so repeatedly damaged by tempest and fire, that only five gallies entered the port of Alexandria to relate the tale of their various and almost incredible disasters.[p]

Invention and use of the Greek fire.

In the two sieges, the deliverance of Constantinople may be chiefly ascribed to the novelty, the terrors, and the real efficacy, of the *Greek fire*.[q] The important secret of compounding and directing this artificial flame was imparted by Callinicus, a native of Heliopolis in Syria, who deserted from the service of the caliph to that of the emperor.[r] The skill of a chemist and engineer was equivalent to the succour of fleets and armies; and this discovery or improvement of the military art was fortunately reserved for the distressful period, when the degenerate Romans of the East were incapable of contending with the warlike enthusiasm and youthful vigour of the Saracens. The historian who pre-

[p] In the second siege of Constantinople, I have followed Nicephorus (Brev. p. 33-36); Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 324-334); Cedrenus (Compend. p. 449-452); Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 98-102); Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 88); Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 126); and Abupharagius (Dynast. p. 130), the most satisfactory of the Arabs.

[q] Our sure and indefatigable guide in the middle ages and Byzantine history, Charles du Fresne du Cange, has treated in several places of the Greek fire, and his collections leave few gleanings behind. See particularly Glossar. Med. et Infim. Græcitat. p. 1275, sub voce Πυρ θαλασσιον, υγρον. Glossar. Med. et Infim. Latinitat. *Ignis Græcus*. Observations sur Villehardouin, p. 305, 306. Observations sur Joinville, p. 71, 72.

[r] Theophanes styles him αρχιτεκτων (p. 295.) Cedrenus (p. 437), brings this artist from (the ruins of) Heliopolis in Egypt; and chemistry was indeed the peculiar science of the Egyptians.

sumes to analyze this extraordinary composition, should suspect his own ignorance, and that of his Byzantine guides, so prone to the marvellous, so careless, and, in this instance, so jealous of the truth. From their obscure, and perhaps fallacious hints, it should seem that the principal ingredient of the Greek fire was the *naptha*,[s] or liquid bitumen, a light, tenacious, and inflammable oil,[t] which springs from the earth, and catches fire as soon as it comes in contact with the air. The naptha was mingled, I know not by what methods or in what proportions, with sulphur and with the pitch that is extracted from ever-green firs.[u] From this mixture, which produced a

CHAP. LII.

[s] The naptha, the oleum incendiarium of the history of Jerusalem (Gest Dei per Francos, p. 1167), the Oriental fountain of James de Vitry (l. iii, c. 84), is introduced on slight evidence and strong probability. Cinnamus (l. vi, p. 165), calls the Greek fire πυρ Μηδικον; and the naptha is known to abound between the Tigris and the Caspian sea. According to Pliny (Hist. Natur. ii, 109), it was subservient to the revenge of Medea, and in either etymology the ελαιον Μηδικας, or Μηδικης (Procop. de Bell. Gothic. l. iv, c. 11), may fairly signify this liquid bitumen.

[t] On the different sorts of oils and bitumens, see Dr Watson's (the present bishop of Llandaff's) Chemical Essays, vol. iii, essay i, a classic book, the best adapted to infuse the taste and knowledge of chemistry. The less perfect ideas of the ancients may be found in Strabo (Geograph. l. xvi, p. 1078), and Pliny (Hist. Natur. ii, 108, 109). Huic (*Naptha*) magna cognatio est ignium, transiliuntque protinus in eam undecunque visam. Of our travellers I am best pleased with Otter (tom. i, p. 153-158).

[u] Anna Comnena has partly drawn aside the curtain. Απο της πιτυος, και αλλων τινων τοιουτων δενδρων αειθαλων συναγεται δακρυον αχαυγον. Τουτο μετα θειου τριβομενον εμβαλλεται εις αυλισκους καλαμων και εμφυσαται παρα του παιζοντος λαβρω και ρυσιχει πνευματι (Alexiad. l. xiii, p. 383). Elsewhere (l. xi, p. 336) she mentions the property of burning, κατα

CHAP. LII.

thick smoke and a loud explosion, proceeded a fierce and obstinate flame, which not only rose in perpendicular ascent, but likewise burnt with equal vehemence in descent or lateral progress; instead of being extinguished, it was nourished and quickened, by the element of water; and sand, urine, or vinegar, were the only remedies that could damp the fury of this powerful agent, which was justly denominated by the Greeks, the *liquid*, or the *maritime* fire. For the annoyance of the enemy, it was employed with equal effect, by sea and land, in battles or in sieges. It was either poured from the ramparts in large boilers, or launched in red-hot balls of stone and iron, or darted in arrows and javelins, twisted round with flax and tow, which had deeply imbibed the inflammable oil: sometimes it was deposited in fire-ships, the victims and instruments of a more ample revenge, and was most commonly blown through long tubes of copper, which were planted on the prow of a galley, and fancifully shaped into the mouths of savage monsters, that seemed to vomit a stream of liquid and consuming fire. This important art was preserved at Constantinople, as the palladium of the state; the gallies and *artillery* might occasionally be lent to the allies of Rome; but the composition of the Greek fire was concealed with

τὸ πῦρ αἴει καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα. Leo, in the xixth chapter of his Tactics (Opera Meursii, tom. vi, p. 843, edit. Lami, Florent. 1745), speaks of the new invention of πῦρ μετὰ βροντῆς καὶ καπνοῦ. These are genuine and *Imperial* testimonies.

the most jealous scruple, and the terror of the enemies was increased and prolonged by their ignorance and surprise. In the treatise of the administration of the empire, the royal author[x] suggests the answers and excuses that might best elude the indiscreet curiosity and importunate demands of the barbarians. They should be told that the mystery of the Greek fire had been revealed by an angel to the first and greatest of the Constantines, with a sacred injunction, that this gift of heaven, this peculiar blessing of the Romans, should never be communicated to any foreign nation: that the prince and subject were alike bound to religious silence, under the temporal and spiritual penalties of treason and sacrilege; and that the impious attempt would provoke the sudden and supernatural vengeance of the God of the Christians. By these precautions, the secret was confined, above four hundred years, to the Romans of the East; and, at the end of the eleventh century, the Pisans, to whom every sea and every art were familiar, suffered the effects, without understanding the composition, of the Greek fire. It was at length either discovered or stolen by the Mahometans; and, in the holy wars of Syria and Egypt, they retorted an invention, contrived against themselves, on the heads of the Christians. A knight, who despised the swords and lances of the Saracens, relates, with heartfelt sincerity, his own fears, and those of his companions, at the sight and sound of the mischievous engine that dis-

[x] Constantin. Porphyrogenit. de Administrat. Imperii, c. xiii, p. 64, 65.

CHAP. LII.

charged a torrent of the Greek fire, the *feu Gregeois*, as it is styled by the more early of the French writers.* It came flying through the air, says Joinville,[y] like a winged long-tailed dragon, about the thickness of an hogshead, with the report of thunder, and the velocity of lightning; and the darkness of the night was dispelled by this deadly illumination. The use of the Greek, or, as it might now be called, of the Saracen fire, was continued to the middle of the fourteenth century,[z] when the scientific, or casual compound of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal,[a] effected a new revolution in the art of war, and the history of mankind.[b]

Invasion of France by the Arabs, A. D. 721, &c.

Constantinople and the Greek fire might exclude the Arabs from the eastern entrance of

[y] Histoire de St Louis, p. 39. Paris, 1688, p. 44. Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1761. The former of these editions is precious for the observations of Ducange; the latter for the pure and original text of Joinville. We must have recourse to that text to discover, that the feu Gregeois was shot with a pile or javelin, from an engine that acted like a sling.

[z] The vanity, or envy, of shaking the established property of Fame, has tempted some moderns to carry gunpowder above the xivth (see Sir William Temple, Dutens, &c.) and the Greek fire above the viith century (see the Salluste du President des Brosses, tom. ii, p. 381); but their evidence, which precedes the vulgar æra of the invention, is seldom clear or satisfactory, and subsequent writers may be suspected of fraud or credulity. In the earliest sieges, some combustibles of oil and sulphur have been used, and the Greek fire has *some* affinities with gunpowder both in nature and effects: for the antiquity of the first, a passage of Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. iv, c. 11); for that of the second, some facts in the Arabic history of Spain (A. D. 1249, 1312, 1332. Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. ii, p. 6, 7, 8), are the most difficult to elude.

[a] That extraordinary man, Friar Bacon, reveals two of the ingredients, saltpetre and sulphur, and conceals the third in a sentence of mysterious gibberish, as if he dreaded the consequences of his own discovery (Biographia Britannica, vol. i, p. 430, new edition).

Europe; but in the West, on the side of the Pyrenees, the provinces of Gaul were threatened and invaded by the conquerors of Spain.[b] The decline of the French monarchy invited the attack of these insatiate fanatics. The descendants of Clovis had lost the inheritance of his martial and ferocious spirit; and their misfortune or demerit has affixed the epithet of *lazy* to the last kings of the Merovingian race.[c] They ascended the throne without power, and sunk into the grave without a name. A country palace, in the neighbourhood of Compiegne,[d] was allotted for their residence or prison; but each year, in the month of March or May, they were con-

CHAP. LII.

[b] For the invasion of France, and the defeat of the Arabs by Charles Martel, see the Historia Arabum (c. 11, 12, 13, 14) of Roderic Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, who had before him the christian chronicle of Isidore Pacensis, and the Mahometan history of Novairi. The Moslems are silent or concise in the account of their losses, but M. Cardonne (tom. i, p. 129, 130, 131) has given a *pure* and simple account of all that he could collect from Ibn Halikan, Hidjazi, and an anonymous writer. The texts of the chronicles of France, and lives of saints, are inserted in the collection of Bouquet (tom. iii,) and the annals of Pagi, who (tom. iii, under the proper years) has restored the chronology, which is anticipated six years in the Annals of Baronius. The Dictionary of Bayle (*Abderame* and *Munuza*) has more merit for lively reflection than original research.

[c] Eginhart, de Vita Caroli Magni, c. ii, p. 13-18, edit. Schmink, Utrecht, 1711. Some modern critics accuse the minister of Charlemagne of exaggerating the weakness of the Merovingians; but the general outline is just, and the French reader will for ever repeat the beautiful lines of Boileau's Lutrin.

[d] *Mamacæ* on the Oyse, between Compeigne and Noyon, which Eginhart calls perparvi reditûs villam (see the notes, and the map of ancient France for Dom. Bouquet's Collection). Compendium, or Compiegne, was a palace of more dignity (Hadrian Valesii Notitia Galliarum, p. 152), and that laughing philosopher, the Abbé Galliani (Dialogues sur le Commerce des Bleds), may truly affirm, that it was the residence of the rois très Chretiens et très chevelûs.

CHAP. LII.

ducted in a waggon drawn by oxen to the assembly of the Franks, to give audience to foreign ambassadors, and to ratify the acts of the mayor of the palace. That domestic officer was become the minister of the nation, and the master of the prince. A public employment was converted into the patrimony of a private family: the elder Pepin left a king of mature years under the guardianship of his own widow and her child; and these feeble regents were forcibly dispossessed by the most active of his bastards. A government, half savage and half corrupt, was almost dissolved; and the tributary dukes, the provincial counts, and the territorial lords, were tempted to despise the weakness of the monarch, and to imitate the ambition of the mayor.[1] Among these independent chiefs, one of the boldest and most successful, was Eudes, duke of Aquitain, who, in the southern provinces of Gaul, usurped the authority and even the title of king. The Goths, the Gascons, and the Franks, assembled under the standard of this christian hero: he repelled the first invasion of the Saracens; and Zama, lieutenant of the caliph, lost his army and his life under the walls of Thoulouse. The ambition of his successors was stimulated by revenge; they repassed the Pyrenees with the means and the resolution of conquest. The advantageous situation which had recommended Narbonne[e] as the first Roman colony, was again chosen by

[1] Even before that colony, A. U. C. 630 (Velleius Paterc. i, 15), in the time of Polybius (Hist. l. iii, p. 265, edit. Gronov.),

CHAP. LII.

the Moslems; they claimed the province of Septemania or Languedoc as a just dependence of the Spanish monarchy: the vineyards of Gascony and the city of Bourdeaux were possessed by the sovereign of Damascus and Samarcand; and the south of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone, assumed the manners and religion of Arabia.

Expedition and victories of Abderame, A. D. 731.

But these narrow limits were scorned by the spirit of Abdalrahman, or Abderame, who had been restored by the caliph Hashem to the wishes of the soldiers and people of Spain. That veteran and daring commander adjudged to the obedience of the prophet whatever yet remained of France or of Europe, and prepared to execute the sentence, at the head of a formidable host, in the full confidence of surmounting all opposition either of nature or of man. His first care was to suppress a domestic rebel, who commanded the most important passes of the Pyrenees: Munuza, a Moorish chief, had accepted the alliance of the duke of Aquitain; and Eudes, from a motive of private or public interest, devoted his beauteous daughter to the embraces of the African misbeliever. But the strongest fortresses of Cerdagne were invested by a superior force; the rebel was overtaken and slain in the mountains; and his widow was sent a captive to Damascus, to gratify the desires, or more probably the vanity, of the commander of the faithful.

Narbonne was a Celtic town of the first eminence, and one of the most northern places of the known world (d'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 473.)

CHAP. LII.

From the Pyrenees, Abderame proceeded without delay to the passage of the Rhône and the siege of Arles. An army of Christians attempted the relief of the city: the tombs of their leaders were yet visible in the thirteenth century; and many thousands of their dead bodies were carried down the rapid stream into the Mediterranean Sea. The arms of Abderame were not less successful on the side of the ocean. He passed without opposition the Garonne and Dordogne, which unite their waters in the gulf of Bourdeaux; but he found, beyond those rivers, the camp of the intrepid Eudes, who had formed a second army, and sustained a second defeat, so fatal to the Christians, that, according to their sad confession, God alone could reckon the number of the slain. The victorious Saracen overran the provinces of Aquitain, whose Gallic names are disguised, rather than lost, in the modern appellations of Perigord, Saintogne, and Poitou: his standards were planted on the walls, or at least before the gates, of Tours and of Sens; and his detachments overspread the kingdom of Burgundy as far as the well-known cities of Lyons and Besançon. The memory of these devastations, for Abderame did not spare the country or the people, was long preserved by tradition; and the invasion of France by the Moors, or Mahometans, affords the ground-work of those fables, which have been so wildly disfigured in the romances of chivalry, and so elegantly adorned by the Italian muse. In the decline of society and art, the deserted cities could supply a slender

booty to the Saracens; their richest spoil was found in the churches and monasteries, which they stripped of their ornaments and delivered to the flames: and the tutelar saints, both Hilary of Poitiers and Martin of Tours, forgot their miraculous powers in the defence of their own sepulchres.[f] A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the highlands of Scotland: the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet.[g]

CHAP. LII.

From such calamities was Christendom delivered by the genius and fortune of one man. Charles, the illegitimate son of the elder Pepin,

Defeat of the Saracens by Charles Martel. A. D. 732.

[f] With regard to the sanctuary of St Martin of Tours, Roderic Ximenes accuses the Saracens of the *deed*. Turonis civitatem, ecclesiam et palatia vastatione et incendio simili diruit et consumpsit. The continuator of Fredegarius imputes to them no more than the *intention*. Ad domum beatissimi Martini evertendam destinant. At Carolus, &c. The French annalist was more jealous of the honour of the saint.

[g] Yet I sincerely doubt whether the Oxford mosch would have produced a volume of controversy so elegant and ingenious as the sermons lately preached by Mr White, the Arabic professor, at Mr Bampton's lecture. His observations on the character and religion of Mahomet are always adapted to his argument, and generally founded in truth and reason. He sustains the part of a lively and eloquent advocate, and sometimes rises to the merit of an historian and philosopher.

CHAP. LII.

was content with the titles of mayor or duke of the Franks, but he deserved to become the father of a line of kings. In a laborious administration of twenty-four years, he restored and supported the dignity of the throne, and the rebels of Germany and Gaul were successively crushed by the activity of a warrior, who, in the same campaign, could display his banner on the Elbe, the Rhone, and the shores of the ocean. In the public danger, he was summoned by the voice of his country; and his rival, the duke of Aquitain, was reduced to appear among the fugitives and suppliants. "Alas!" exclaimed the Franks, "what a misfortune! what an indigni-"ty! We have long heard of the name and "conquests of the Arabs: we were apprehen-"sive of their attack from the East; they have "now conquered Spain, and invade our coun-"try, on the side of the West. Yet their num-"bers, and (since they have no buckler) their "arms, are inferior to our own." "If you fol-"low my advice," replied the prudent mayor of the palace, "you will not interrupt their march, "nor precipitate your attack. They are like a "torrent, which it is dangerous to stem in its "career. The thirst of riches, and the conscious-"ness of success, redouble their valour, and va-"lour is of more avail than arms or numbers. "Be patient till they have loaded themselves "with the incumbrance of wealth. This pos-"session of wealth will divide their counsels, "and assure your victory." This subtle policy is perhaps a refinement of the Arabian writers;

and the situation of Charles will suggest a more narrow and selfish motive of procrastination; the secret desire of humbling the pride, and wasting the provinces, of the rebel duke of Aquitain. It is yet more probable, that the delays of Charles were inevitable and reluctant. A standing army was unknown under the first and second race: more than half the kingdom was now in the hands of the Saracens: according to their respective situation, the Franks of Neustria and Austrasia were too conscious or too careless of the impending danger; and the voluntary aids of the Gepidæ and Germans were separated by a long interval from the standard of the christian general. No sooner had he collected his forces, than he sought and found the enemy in the centre of France, between Tours and Poitiers. His well-conducted march was covered by a range of hills, and Abderame appears to have been surprised by his unexpected presence. The nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe, advanced with equal ardour, to an encounter which would change the history of the world. In the six first days of desultory combat, the horsemen and archers of the East maintained their advantage: but in the closer onset of the seventh day, the orientals were oppressed by the strength and stature of the Germans, who, with stout hearts and *iron* hands,[h] asserted the

CHAP. LII.

[h] Gens Austriæ membrorum pre-eminentiâ valida, et gens Germana cordè et corporo præstantissima, quasi in ictû oculi manû ferreâ et pectore arduo Arabes extinxerunt (Roderic. Toletan. c. xiv.)

CHAP. LII.

civil and religious freedom of their posterity. The epithet of *Martel*, the *Hammer*, which has been added to the name of Charles, is expressive of his weighty and irresistible strokes: the valour of Eudes was excited by resentment and emulation; and their companions, in the eye of history, are the true peers and paladins of French chivalry. After a bloody field, in which Abderame was slain, the Saracens, in the close of the evening, retired to their camp. In the disorder and despair of the night, the various tribes of Yemen and Damascus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms against each other: the remains of their host were suddenly dissolved, and each *emir* consulted his safety by an hasty and separate retreat. At the dawn of day, the stillness of an hostile camp was suspected by the victorious Christians: on the report of their spies, they ventured to explore the riches of the vacant tents; but, if we except some celebrated relics, a small portion of the spoil was restored to the innocent and lawful owners. The joyful tidings were soon diffused over the catholic world, and the monks of Italy could affirm and believe that three hundred and fifty, or three hundred and seventy-five thousand of the Mahometans had been crushed by the hammer of Charles;[1] while no more than fifteen

[1] These numbers are stated by Paul Warnefrid, the deacon of Aquileia (de Gestis Longobard. l. vi. p. 921, edit. Grot.) and Anastasius, the librarian of the Roman church (in Vit. Gregorii II.) who tells a miraculous story of three consecrated spunges, which rendered invul-

hundred Christians were slain in the field of Tours. But this incredible tale is sufficiently disproved by the caution of the French general, who apprehended the snares and accidents of a pursuit, and dismissed his German allies to their native forests. The inactivity of a conqueror betrays the loss of strength and blood, and the most cruel execution is inflicted, not in the ranks of battle, but on the backs of a flying enemy. Yet the victory of the Franks was complete and final; Aquitain was recovered by the arms of Eudes; the Arabs never resumed the conquest of Gaul, and they were soon driven beyond the Pyrenees by Charles Martel and his valiant race.[k] It might have been expected that the saviour of Christendom would have been canonised, or at least applauded, by the gratitude of the clergy, who are indebted to his sword for their present existence. But in the public distress, the mayor of the palace had been compelled to apply the riches, or at least the revenues, of the bishops and abbots, to the relief of the state and the reward of the soldiers. His merits were forgotten, his sacrilege alone was remembered, and, in an epistle to a Carlovingian prince, a Gallic synod presumes to declare that his

CHAP. LII.

They recrent before the Franks.

nerable the French soldiers among whom they had been shared. It should seem, that in his letters to the pope, Eudes usurped the honour of the victory, for which he was chastised by the French annalists, who, with equal falsehood, accuse him of inviting the Saracens.

[k] Narbonne, and the rest of Septimania, was recovered by Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, A. D. 755 (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii, p. 800.) Thirty-seven years afterwards it was pillaged by a sudden inroad of the Arabs, who employed the captives in the construction of the mosch of Cordova (de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i, p. 354.)

CHAP. LII.

ancestor was damned; that on the opening of his tomb, the spectators were affrighted by a smell of fire and the aspect of an horrid dragon; and that a saint of the times was indulged with a pleasant vision of the soul and body of Charles Martel, burning, to all eternity, in the abyss of hell.[1]

Elevation of the Abbassides, A. D. 746-750.

The loss of an army, or a province, in the Western world, was less painful to the court of Damascus, than the rise and progress of a domestic competitor. Except among the Syrians, the caliphs of the house of Ommiyah had never been the objects of the public favour. The life of Mahomet recorded their perseverance in idolatry and rebellion; their conversion had been reluctant, their elevation irregular and factious, and their throne was cemented with the most holy and noble blood of Arabia. The best of their race, the pious Omar, was dissatisfied with his own title: their personal virtues were insufficient to justify a departure from the order of succession; and the eyes and wishes of the faithful were turned towards the line of Hashem and the kindred of the apostle of God. Of these the Fatimites were either rash or pusillanimous; but the descendants of Abbas cherished, with courage and discretion, the hopes of their rising fortunes. From an obscure residence in Syria, they secret-

[1] This pastoral letter, addressed to Lewis the Germanic, the grandson of Charlemagne, and most probably composed by the pen of the artful Hincmar, is dated in the year 858, and signed by the bishops of the provinces of Rheims and Rouen (Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 741. Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. x, p. 514-516). Yet Baronius himself, and the French critics, reject with contempt this episcopal fiction.

ly dispatched their agents and missionaries, who preached in the eastern provinces their hereditary indefeasible right; and Mohammed, the son of Ali, the son of Abdallah, the son of Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, gave audience to the deputies of Chorasan, and accepted their free gift of four hundred thousand pieces of gold. After the death of Mohammed, the oath of allegiance was administered in the name of his son Ibrahim to a numerous band of votaries, who expected only a signal and a leader; and the governor of Chorasan continued to deplore his fruitless admonitions and the deadly slumber of the caliphs of Damascus, till he himself, with all his adherents, was driven from the city and palace of Meru, by the rebellious arms of Abu Moslem.[m] That maker of kings, the author, as he is named, of the *call* of the Abbassides, was at length rewarded for his presumption of merit with the usual gratitude of courts. A mean, perhaps a foreign, extraction, could not repress the aspiring energy of Abu Moslem. Jealous of his wives, liberal of his wealth, prodigal of his own blood and of that of others, he could boast with pleasure, and possibly with truth, that he had destroyed six hundred thousand of his enemies; and such was the intrepid gravity of his mind and countenance, that he was never seen to smile

CHAP. LII.

[m] The steed and the saddle, which had carried any of his wives, were instantly killed or burnt, lest they should be afterwards mounted by a mule. Twelve hundred mules or camels were required for his kitchen furniture; and the daily consumption amounted to three thousand cakes, an hundred sheep, besides oxen, poultry, &c. (Abulpharagius, Hist. Dynast. p. 140.)

CHAP. LII.

except on a day of battle. In the visible separation of parties the *green* was consecrated to the Fatimites; the Ommiades were distinguished by the *white*; and the *black*, as the most adverse, was naturally adopted by the Abbassides. Their turbans and garments were stained with that gloomy colour: two black standards, on pike-staves nine cubits long, were borne aloft in the van of Abu Moslem; and their allegorical names of the *night* and the *shadow*, obscurely represented the indissoluble union and perpetual succession of the line of Hashem. From the Indus to the Euphrates, the East was convulsed by the quarrel of the white and the black factions; the Abbassides were most frequently victorious; but their public success was clouded by the personal misfortune of their chief. The court of Damascus, awakening from a long slumber, resolved to prevent the pilgrimage of Mecca, which Ibrahim had undertaken with a splendid retinue, to recommend himself at once to the favour of the prophet and of the people. A detachment of cavalry intercepted his march and arrested his person; and the unhappy Ibrahim, snatched away from the promise of untasted royalty, expired in iron fetters in the dungeons of Haran. His two younger brothers, Saffah and Almansor, eluded the search of the tyrant, and lay concealed at Cufa, till the zeal of the people and the approach of his eastern friends allowed them to expose their persons to the impatient public. On Friday, in the dress of a caliph, in the colours of the sect, Saffah proceeded with religious and military pomp to the mosch: ascending the pulpit,

he prayed and preached as the lawful successor of Mahomet; and, after his departure, his kinsmen bound a willing people by an oath of fidelity. But it was on the banks of the Zab, and not in the mosch of Cufa, that this important controversy was determined. Every advantage appeared to be on the side of the white faction: the authority of established government; an army of an hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, against a sixth part of that number; and the presence and merit of the caliph Mervan, the fourteenth and last of the house of Ommiyah. Before his accession to the throne, he had deserved, by his Georgian warfare, the honourable epithet of the ass of Mesopotamia;[n] and he might have been ranked among the greatest princes, had not, says Abulfeda, the eternal order decreed that moment for the ruin of his family; a decree against which all human prudence and fortitude must struggle in vain. The orders of Mervan were mistaken or disobeyed: the return of his horse, from which he had dismounted on a necessary occasion, impressed the belief of his death; and the enthusiasm of the black squadrons was ably conducted by Abdallah, the uncle of his competitor. After an irretrievable defeat, the caliph escaped to Mosul; but the co-

CHAP. LII.

[n] *Al Hemar.* He had been governor of Mesopotamia, and the Arabic proverb praises the courage of that warlike breed of asses who never fly from an enemy. The surname of Mervan may justify the comparison of Homer (Iliad, λ. 557, &c.), and both will silence the moderns, who consider the ass as a stupid and ignoble emblem (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 558).

CHAP. LII.

lours of the Abbassides were displayed from the rampart; he suddenly repassed the Tigris, cast a melancholy look on his palace of Haran, crossed the Euphrates, abandoned the fortifications of Damascus, and, without halting in Palestine, pitched his last and fatal camp at Busir on the banks of the Nile.[o] His speed was urged by the incessant diligence of Abdallah, who in every step of the pursuit acquired strength and reputation: the remains of the white faction were finally vanquished in Egypt; and the lance, which terminated the life and anxiety of Mervan, was not less welcome perhaps to the unfortunate than to the victorious chief. The merciless inquisition of the conqueror eradicated the most distant branches of the hostile race: their bones were scattered, their memory was accursed, and the martyrdom of Hossein was abundantly revenged on the posterity of his tyrants. Fourscore of the Ommiades, who had yielded to the faith

Fall of the Ommiades, A. D. 750, Feb. 10.

[o] Four several places, all in Egypt, bore the name of Busir, or Busiris, so famous in Greek fable. The first, where Mervan was slain, was to the west of the Nile, in the province of Fium, or Arsinoe; the second in the Delta, in the Sebennytic nome; the third, near the pyramids, the fourth, which was destroyed by Diocletian (see above, vol. i, p. 439), in the Thebais. I shall here transcribe a note of the learned and orthodox Michaelis: Videntur in pluribus Ægypti superioris urbibus Busiri Coptoque arma sumpsisse Christiani, libertatemque de religione sentiendi defendisse, sed succubuisse quo in bello Coptus et Busiris diruta, et circa Esnam magna strages edita. Bellum narrant sed causam belli ignorant scriptores Byzantini, nbique Coptum et Busirim non rebellasse dicturi, sed causam Christianorum susceperi (Not. 211, p. 100). For the geography of the four Busirs, see Abulfeda (Descript. Ægypt. p. 9, vers. Michaelis, Gottingæ, 1776, in 4to), Michaelis (Not. 122-127, p. 58-63), and D'Anville (Memoire sur l'Egypte, p. 85, 147, 203).

or clemency of their foes, were invited to a banquet at Damascus. The laws of hospitality were violated by a promiscuous massacre: the board was spread over their fallen bodies; and the festivity of the guests was enlivened by the music of their dying groans. By the event of the civil war the dynasty of the Abbasides was firmly established; but the Christians only could triumph in the mutual hatred and common loss of the disciples of Mahomet.[q] CHAP. LII.

Revolt of Spain, A. D. 755.

Yet the thousands who were swept away by the sword of war might have been speedily retrieved in the succeeding generation, if the consequences of the revolution had not tended to dissolve the power and unity of the empire of the Saracens. In the proscription of the Ommiades, a royal youth of the name of Abdalrahman alone escaped the rage of his enemies, who hunted the wandering exile from the banks of the Euphrates to the valleys of Mount Atlas. His presence in the neighbourhood of Spain revived the zeal of the white faction. The name and cause of the Abbasides had been first vindicated by the Persians; the west had been pure from civil arms; and the servants of the abdicated family still held, by a precarious tenure, the

[q] See Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 136-145;) Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 392, vers. Pocock), Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 109-121); Abulpharagius (Hist. Dynast. p. 134-140); Roderic of Toledo (Hist. Arabum, c. 18, p. 93); Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 356, 357, who speaks of the Abbasides under the names of Χαζαναιται and Μαυροφορι); and the Bibliotheque of d'Herbelot, in the articles of *Ommiades*, *Abbassides*, *Marvan*, *Ibrahim*, *Saffah*, *Abou Moslem*.

CHAP. LII.

inheritance of their lands and the offices of government. Strongly prompted by gratitude, indignation, and fear, they invited the grandson of the caliph Hashem to ascend the throne of his ancestors; and, in his desperate condition, the extremes of rashness and prudence were almost the same. The acclamations of the people saluted his landing on the coast of Andalusia; and, after a successful struggle, Abdalrahman established the throne of Cordova, and was the father of the Ommiades of Spain, who reigned above two hundred and fifty years from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees.[q] He slew in battle a lieutenant of the Abbassides, who had invaded his dominions with a fleet and army: the head of Ala, in salt and camphire, was suspended by a daring messenger before the palace of Mecca; and the caliph Almansor rejoiced in his safety, that he was removed by seas and lands from such a formidable adversary. Their mutual designs or declarations of offensive war evaporated without effect: but instead of opening a door to the conquest of Europe, Spain was dissevered from the trunk of the monarchy, engaged in perpetual hostility with the East, and inclined to peace and friendship with the christian sovereigns of Constantantinople and France. The example of the Ommiades was imitated by the real or fictitious progeny of Ali, the Edrissites of Mauritania, and the more powerful Fatimites of Africa and

Triple division of the caliphate.

[q] For the revolution of Spain, consult Roderic of Toledo (c. xviii, p. 34, &c.); the Bibliotheca Arabico Hispana (tom. ii, p. 30, 198); and Cardonne (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i, p. 180-197, 205, 272, 323, &c.).

Egypt. In the tenth century, the chair of Mahomet was disputed by three caliphs or commanders of the faithful, who reigned at Bagdad, Cairoan, and Cordova, excommunicated each other, and agreed only in a principle of discord, that a sectary is more odious and criminal than an unbeliever.[r] CHAP. LII.

Mecca was the patrimony of the line of Hashem, yet the Abbassides were never tempted to reside either in the birth place or the city of the prophet. Damascus was disgraced by the choice, and polluted with the blood, of the Ommiades; and after some hesitation, Almansor, the brother and successor of Saffah, laid the foundations of Bagdad,[s] the imperial seat of his prosperity during a reign of five hundred years.[t] The chosen spot is on the eastern bank of the Tigris, about fifteen miles above the ruins of Modain: the Magnificence of the caliphs, A. D. 750-960.

[r] I shall not stop to refute the strange errors and fancies of Sir William Temple (his Works, vol. iii, p. 371-374, octavo edition) and Voltaire (Histoire Generale, c. xxviii, tom. ii, p. 124, 125, edition de Lausanne), concerning the division of the Saracen empire. The mistakes of Voltaire proceeded from the want of knowledge or reflection; but Sir William was deceived by a Spanish impostor, who has framed an apocryphal history of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs.

[s] The geographer d'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 121-128), and the Orientalist d'Herbelot (Bibliotheque, p. 167, 168), may suffice for the knowledge of Bagdad. Our travellers, Pietro della Valle (tom. i, p. 688-698); Tavernier (tom. i, p. 230-238); Thevenot (part ii, p. 209-212); Otter (tom. i, p. 162-168); and Niebuhr (Voyage en Arabie, tom. ii, p. 239-271), have seen only its decay: and the Nubian geographer (p. 204), and the travelling Jew, Benjamin of Tudela (Itinerarium, p. 112-123, à Const. l'Empereur, apud Elzevir, 1633), are the only writers of my acquaintance who have known Bagdad under the reign of the Abbassides.

[t] The foundations of Bagdad were laid A. H. 145, A. D. 762. Mostasem, the last of the Abbassides, was taken and put to death by the Tartars, A. H. 656, A. D. 1258, the 20th of February.

CHAP. LII.

double wall was of a circular form; and such was the rapid increase of a capital, now dwindled to a provincial town, that the funeral of a popular saint might be attended by eight hundred thousand men and sixty thousand women of Bagdad and the adjacent villages. In this *city of peace*,[u] amidst the riches of the East, the Abbassides soon disdained the abstinence and frugality of the first caliphs, and aspired to emulate the magnificence of the Persian kings. After his wars and buildings, Almansor left behind him in gold and silver about thirty millions sterling;[x] and this treasure was exhausted in a few years by the vices or virtues of his children. His son Mahadi, in a single pilgrimage to Mecca, expended six millions of dinars of gold. A pious and charitable motive may sanctify the foundation of cisterns and caravanseras, which he distributed along a measured road of seven hundred miles; but his train of camels, laden with snow, could serve only to astonish the natives of Arabia, and to refresh the fruits and liquors of the royal banquet.[y] The courtiers

[u] Medinat al Salem, Dar al Salem. Urbs pacis, or, as is more neatly compounded by the Byzantine writers, Ειρηνοπολις (Irenopolis). There is some dispute concerning the etymology of Bagdad, but the first syllable is allowed to signify a garden in the Persian tongue; the garden of Dad, a christian hermit, whose cell had been the only habitation on the spot.

[x] Reliquit in ærario sexcenties millies mille stateres, et quater et vicies millies mille aureos aureos. Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 126. I have reckoned the gold pieces at eight shillings, and the proportion to the silver as twelve to one. But I will never answer for the numbers of Erpenius; and the Latins are scarcely above the savages in the language of arithmetic.

[y] D'Herbelot, p. 530. Abulfeda, p. 154. Nivem Meccam apportavit, rem ibi aut nunquam aut rarissime visam.

would surely praise the liberality of his grandson Almamon, who gave away four-fifths of the income of a province, a sum of two millions four hundred thousand gold dinars, before he drew his foot from the stirrup. At the nuptials of the same prince, a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of the bride,[z] and a lottery of lands and houses displayed the capricious bounty of fortune. The glories of the court were brightened rather than impaired in the decline of the empire; and a Greek ambassador might admire or pity the magnificence of the feeble Moctader. "The caliph's whole army," says the historian Abulfeda, "both horse and foot, was "under arms, which together made a body of "one hundred and sixty thousand men. His "state-officers, the favourite slaves, stood near "him in splendid apparel, their belts glittering "with gold and gems. Near them were seven "thousand eunuchs, four thousand of them "white, the remainder black. The porters or "door-keepers were in number seven hundred. "Barges and boats, with the most superb deco-"rations, were seen swimming upon the Tigris. "Nor was the palace itself less splendid, in which "were hung up thirty-eight thousand pieces of "tapestry, twelve thousand five hundred of which

CHAP. LII.

[z] Abulfeda, p. 184, 189, describes the splendour and liberality of Almamon. Milton has alluded to this Oriental custom:

—Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,
Showers on her kings Barbaric pearls and gold.

I have used the modern word *lottery*, to express the *missilia* of the Roman emperors, which entitled to some prize the person who caught them, as they were thrown among the crowd.

CHAP. LII.

"were of silk embroidered with gold. The carpets "on the floor were twenty-two thousand. An "hundred lions were brought out, with a keeper "to each lion.[a] Among the other spectacles of "rare and stupendous luxury, was a tree of gold "and silver spreading into eighteen large branch-"es, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a va-"riety of birds made of the same precious me-"tals, as well as the leaves of the tree. While "the machinery affected spontaneous motions, "the several birds warbled their natural har-"mony. Through this scene of magnificence, "the Greek ambassador was led by the vizier to "the foot of the caliph's throne."[b] In the West, the Ommiades of Spain supported, with equal pomp, the title of commander of the faithful. Three miles from Cordova, in honour of his favourite sultana, the third and greatest of the Abdalrahmans constructed the city, palace, and gardens of Zehra. Twenty-five years, and above three millions sterling, were employed by the founder: his liberal taste invited the artists of Constantinople, the most skilful sculptors and architects of the age; and the buildings were sustained or adorned by twelve hundred columns of Spanish and African, of Greek and Italian

[a] When Bell of Antermony (Travels, vol. i, p. 99) accompanied the Russian ambassador to the audience of the unfortunate Shah Hussein of Persia, *two* lions were introduced, to denote the power of the king over the fiercest animals.

[b] Abulfeda, p. 237, d'Herbelot, p. 509. This embassy was received at Bagdat, A. H. 305, A. D. 917. In the passage of Abulfeda, I have used, with some variations, the English translation of the learned and amiable Mr Harris of Salisbury (Philological Enquiries, p. 363, 364).

marble. The hall of audience was encrusted with gold and pearls, and a great basin in the centre was surrounded with the curious and costly figures of birds and quadrupeds. In a lofty pavilion of the gardens, one of these basins and fountains, so delightful in a sultry climate, was replenished, not with water, but with the purest quicksilver. The seraglio of Abdalrahman, his wives, concubines, and black eunuchs, amounted to six thousand three hundred persons; and he was attended to the field by a guard of twelve thousand horse, whose belts and scymetars were studded with gold.[c]

In a private condition, our desires are perpetually repressed by poverty and subordination; but the lives and labours of millions are devoted to the service of a despotic prince, whose laws are blindly obeyed, and whose wishes are instantly gratified. Our imagination is dazzled by the splendid picture; and whatever may be the cool dictates of reason, there are few among us who would obstinately refuse a trial of the comforts and the cares of royalty. It may therefore be of some use to borrow the experience of the same Abdalrahman, whose magnificence has perhaps excited our admiration and envy, and to transcribe an authentic memorial which was found in the closet of the deceased caliph. "I have "now reigned above fifty years in victory or "peace; beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my

Its consequences on private and public happiness.

[c] Cardonne Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i, p. 330-336. A just idea of the taste and architecture of the Arabians of Spain, may be conceived from the description and plates of the Alhambra of Grenada (Swinburne's Travels, p. 171-188).

CHAP. LII.

"enemies, and respected by my allies. Riches "and honours, power and pleasure, have wait- "ed on my call, nor does any earthly bless- "ing appear to have been wanting to my felici- "city. In this situation I have diligently num- "bered the days of pure and genuine happiness "which have fallen to my lot: they amount to "*fourteen*:—O man! place not thy confidence "in this present world!"[d] The luxury of the caliphs, so useless to their private happiness, relaxed the nerves, and terminated the progress, of the Arabian empire. Temporal and spiritual conquest had been the sole occupation of the first successors of Mahomet; and after supplying themselves with the necessaries of life, the whole revenue was scrupulously devoted to that salutary work. The Abbassides were impoverished by the multitude of their wants, and their contempt of economy. Instead of pursuing the great object of ambition, their leisure, their affections, the powers of their mind, were diverted by pomp and pleasure; the rewards of valour were embezzled by women and eunuchs, and the royal camp was encumbered by the luxury of the palace. A similar temper was diffused among the subjects of the caliph. Their stern enthusiasm

[d] Cardonne, tom. i, p. 329, 330. This confession, the complaints of Solomon of the vanity of this world (read Prior's verbose but eloquent poem), and the happy ten days of the emperor Seghed (Rambler, No. 204, 205) will be triumphantly quoted by the detractors of human life. Their expectations are commonly immoderate; their estimates not seldom impartial. If I may speak of myself (the only person of whom I can speak with certainty), *my* happy hours have far exceeded, and far exceed, the scanty numbers of the caliph of Spain; and I shall not scruple to add, that many of them are due to the pleasing labour of the present composition.

was softened by time and properity: they sought riches in the occupations of industry, fame in the pursuits of literature, and happiness in the tranquillity of domestic life. War was no longer the passion of the Saracens; and the increase of pay, the repetition of donatives, were insufficient to allure the posterity of those voluntary champions who had crowded to the standard of Abubeker and Omar for the hopes of spoil and of paradise.

Introduction of learning among the Arabians, A. D. 764, &c. 813, &c.

Under the reign of the Ommiades, the studies of the Moslems were confined to the interpretation of the koran, and the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue. A people continually exposed to the dangers of the field must esteem the healing powers of medicine, or rather of surgery; but the starving physicians of Arabia murmured a complaint, that exercise and temperance deprived them of the greatest part of their practice.* After their civil and domestic wars, the subjects of the Abbassides, awakening from this mental lethargy, found leisure, and felt curiosity for the acquisition of profane science. This spirit was first encouraged by the caliph Almansor, who, besides his knowledge of the Mahometan law, had applied himself with success to the study of astronomy. But when the sceptre devolved to Almamon, the seventh of the Abbassides, he completed the designs of his

* The Gulistan (p. 289) relates the conversation of Mahomet and a physician (Epistol. Renaudot. in Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. i, p. 814). The prophet himself was skilled in the art of medicine; and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii, p. 394-405), has given an extract of the aphorisms which are extant under his name.

CHAP. LII.

grandfather, and invited the Muses from their ancient seats. His ambassadors at Constantinople, his agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, collected the volumes of Grecian science: at his command they were translated by the most skilful interpreters into the Arabic language: his subjects were exhorted assiduously to peruse these instructive writings; and the successor of Mahomet assisted with pleasure and modesty at the assemblies and disputations of the learned. "He was not ignorant," says Abulpharagius, "that *they* are the elect of God, his best and "most useful servants, whose lives are devoted "to the improvement of their rational faculties. "The mean ambition of the Chinese or the Turks "may glory in the industry of their hands, or "the indulgence of their brutal appetites. Yet "these dexterous artists must view, with hopeless emulation, the hexagons and pyramids of "the cells of a bee-hive:[f] these fortitudinous "heroes are awed by the superior fierceness of "the lions and tigers; and in their amorous enjoyments, they are much inferior to the vigour "of the grossest and most sordid quadrupeds. "The teachers of wisdom are the true luminaries and legislators of a world, which, without

[f] See their curious architecture in Reaumur (Hist. des Insects, tom. v, Memoire viii). These hexagons are closed by a pyramid; the angles of the three sides of a similar pyramid, such as would accomplish the given end with the smallest quantity possible of materials, were determined by a mathematician, at 109 degrees 26 minutes for the larger, 70 degrees 34 minutes for the smaller. The actual measure is 109 degrees 28 minutes, 70 degrees 32 minutes. Yet this perfect harmony raises the work at the expence of the artist; the bees are not masters of transcendant geometry.

CHAP. LII.

"their aid, would again sink in ignorance and "barbarism."[g] The zeal and curiosity of Almamon were imitated by succeeding princes of the line of Abbas: their rivals, the Fatimites of Africa and the Ommiades of Spain, were the patrons of the learned, as well as the commanders of the faithful: the same royal prerogative was claimed by their independent emirs of the provinces; and their emulation diffused the taste and the rewards of science from Samarcand and Bochara to Fez and Cordova. The vizier of a sultan consecrated a sum of two hundred thousand pieces of gold to the foundation of a college at Bagdad, which he endowed with an annual revenue of fifteen thousand dinars. The fruits of instruction were communicated, perhaps at different times, to six thousand disciples of every degree, from the son of the noble to that of the mechanic: a sufficient allowance was provided for the indigent scholars; and the merit or industry of the professors was repaid with adequate stipends. In every city the productions of Arabic literature were copied and collected by the curiosity of the studious, and the vanity of the rich. A private doctor refused the invitation of the sultan of Bochara, because the carriage of his books would have required four hundred camels. The royal library of the Fatimites consisted of one hundred thousand manuscripts, elegantly transcribed and

[g] Saed Ebn Ahmed, cadhi of Toledo, who died A. H. 462, A. D. 1069, has furnished Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 160) with this curious passage, as well as with the text of Pocock's Specimen Historiæ Arabum. A number of literary anecdotes of philosophers, physicians, &c. who have flourished under each caliph, form the principal merit of the dynasties of Abulpharagius.

CHAP. LII.

splendidly bound, which were lent, without jealousy or avarice, to the students of Cairo. Yet this collection must appear moderate, if we can believe that the Ommiades of Spain had formed a library of six hundred thousand volumes, forty-four of which were employed in the mere catalogue. Their capital, Cordova, with the adjacent towns of Malaga, Almeria, and Murcia, had given birth to more than three hundred writers, and above seventy public libraries were opened in the cities of the Andalusian kingdom. The age of Arabian learning continued about five hundred years, till the great irruption of the Moguls, and was coeval with the darkest and most slothful period of European annals; but since the sun of science has arisen in the West, it should seem that the oriental studies have languished and declined.[h]

Their real progress in the sciences.

In the libraries of the Arabians, as in those of Europe, the far greater part of the innumerable volumes were possessed only of local value or imaginary merit.[i] The shelves were crowded with orators and poets, whose style was adapted to the taste and manners of their countrymen; with general and partial histories, which each

[h] These literary anecdotes are borrowed from the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana (tom. ii, p. 38, 71, 201, 202), Leo Africanus (de Arab. Medicis et Philosophis, in Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii, p. 259-298, particularly 274), and Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 274, 275, 536, 537), besides the Chronological remarks of Abulpharagius.

[i] The Arabic catalogue of the Escurial will give a just idea of the proportion of the classes. In the library of Cairo, the MSS. of astronomy and medicine amounted to 6500, with two fair globes, the one of brass, the other of silver (Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. i, p. 417).

revolving generation supplied with a new harvest of persons and events; with codes and commentaries of jurisprudence, which derived their authority from the law of the prophet; with the interpreters of the koran, and orthodox tradition; and with the whole theological tribe, polemics, mystics, scholastics, and moralists, the first or the last of writers, according to the different estimate of sceptics or believers. The works of speculation or science may be reduced to the four classes of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and physic. The sages of Greece were translated and illustrated in the Arabic language, and some treatises, now lost in the original, have been recovered in the versions of the east,[k] which possessed and studied the writings of Aristotle and Plato, of Euclid and Apollonius, of Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen.[l] Among the ideal systems, which have varied with the fashion of the times, the Arabians adopted the CHAP. LII.

[k] As for instance, the fifth, sixth, and seventh books (the eighth is still wanting) of the Conic Sections of Apollonius Pergæus, which were printed from the Florence MSS. 1661 (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. ii, p. 559). Yet the fifth book had been previously restored by the mathematical divination of Viviani (see his eloge in Fontenelle, tom. v, p. 59, &c.)

[l] The merit of these Arabic versions is freely discussed by Renaudot (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. i, p. 812-816), and piously defended by Gasira (Bibliot. Arab. Hispana, tom. i, p. 238-240). Most of the versions of Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, &c. are ascribed to Honain, a physician of the Nestorian sect, who flourished at Bagdad in the court of the caliphs, and died A. D. 876. He was at the head of a school or manufacture of translations, and the works of his sons and disciples were published under his name. See Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 98, 115, 171-174, and apud Assemani, Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii, p. 436), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 456), Asseman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii, p. 164), and Casiri (Bibliot. Arab. Hispana, tom. i, p. 238, &c. 251, 286-290, 302, 304, &c.).

CHAP. LII.

philosophy of the Stagirite, alike intelligible or alike obscure for the readers of every age. Plato wrote for the Athenians, and his allegorical genius is too closely blended with the language and religion of Greece. After the fall of that religion, the peripatetics, emerging from their obscurity, prevailed in the controversies of the oriental sects, and their founder was long afterwards restored by the Mahometans of Spain to the Latin schools.[m] The physics, both of the academy and the Lycæum, as they are built, not on observation, but on argument, have retarded the progress of real knowledge. The metaphysics of infinite, or finite, spirit, have too often been enlisted in the service of superstition. But the human faculties are fortified by the art and practice of dialectics; the ten predicaments of Aristotle collect and methodise our ideas,[n] and his syllogism is the keenest weapon of dispute. It was dexterously wielded in the schools of the Saracens, but as it is more effectual for the detection of error than for the investigation of truth, it is not surprising that new generations of masters and disciples should still revolve in the same circle of logical argument. The mathematics are distinguished by a peculiar privilege, that, in the course of ages, they may always advance, and can never recede. But the ancient geometry, if I am not misinformed, was resumed in the same

[m] See Mosheim, Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 181, 214, 236, 257, 315, 338, 396, 496, &c.

[n] The most elegant commentary on the Categories or Predicaments of Aristotle may be found in the Philosophical Arrangements of Mr James Harris (London, 1775, in octavo), who laboured to revive the studies of Grecian literature and philosophy.

state by the Italians of the fifteenth century; and whatever may be the origin of the name, the science of algebra is ascribed to the Grecian Diophantus by the modest testimony of the Arabs themselves.[o] They cultivated with more success the sublime science of astronomy, which elevates the mind of man to disdain his diminutive planet and momentary existence. The costly instruments of observation were supplied by the caliph Almamon, and the land of the Chaldæans still afforded the same spacious level, the same unclouded horizon. In the plains of Sinaar, and a second time in those of Cufa, his mathematicians accurately measured a degree of the great circle of the earth, and determined at twenty-four thousand miles the entire circumference of our globe.[p] From the reign of the Abbassides to that of the grand-children of Tamerlane, the stars, without the aid of glasses, were diligently observed; and the astronomical tables[q] of Bagdad,

[o] Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 81, 222. Bibliot. Arab. Hist. tom. i, p. 370, 371. In quem (says the primate of the Jacobites) si immiserit se lector, oceanum hoc in genere (*algebræ*) inveniet. The time of Diophantus of Alexandria is unknown, but his six books are still extant, and have been illustrated by the Greek Planudes and the Frenchman Meziriac (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. iv, p. 12-15).

[p] Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 210, 211, vers. Reiske) describes this operation according to Ibn Challecan, and the best historians. This degree most accurately contains 200,000 royal or Hashemite cubits, which Arabia had derived from the sacred and legal practice both of Palestine and Egypt. This ancient cubit is repeated 400 times in each basis of the great pyramid, and seems to indicate the primitive and universal measures of the East. See the Metrologie of the laborious M. Paucton, p. 101-105.

[q] See the Astronomical Tables of Ulugh Begh, with the preface of Dr Hyde, in the first volume of his Syntagma Dissertationum, Oxon. 1767.

CHAP. LII.

Spain, and Samarcand, correct some minute errors, without daring to renounce the hypothesis of Ptolemy, without advancing a step towards the discovery of the solar system. In the eastern courts, the truths of science could be recommended only by ignorance and folly, and the astronomer would have been disregarded, had he not debased his wisdom or honesty by the vain predictions of astrology.[r] But in the science of medicine, the Arabians have been deservedly applauded. The names of Mesua and Geber, of Razis and Avicenna, are ranked with the Grecian masters: in the city of Bagdad, eight hundred and sixty physicians were licensed to exercise their lucrative profession:[s] in Spain, the life of the catholic princes was entrusted to the skill of the Saracens,[t] and the school of Salerno, their legitimate offspring, revived in Italy and Europe the precepts of the healing art.[u] The success of each professor must have been influenced by personal and accidental causes; but we may form a less fanciful estimate of their general know-

[r] The truth of astrology was allowed by Albumazar, and the best of the Arabian astronomers, who drew their most certain predictions, not from Venus and Mercury, but from Jupiter and the Sun (Abulpharag. Dynast. p. 161-163). For the state and science of the Persian astronomers, see Chardin (Voyages en Perse, tom. iii, p. 162-203).

[s] Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. i, p. 498. The original relates a pleasant tale, of an ignorant but harmless practitioner.

[t] In the year 956, Sancho the fat, king of Leon, was cured by the physicians of Cordova (Mariana, l. viii, c. 7, tom. i, p. 318).

[u] The school of Salerno, and the introduction of the Arabian sciences into Italy, are discussed with learning and judgment by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. iii, p. 932-940) and Giannone (Istoria Civili di Napoli, tom. ii, p. 119-127).

ledge of anatomy,[x] botany,[y] and chemistry,[z] the threefold basis of their theory and practice. A superstitious reverence for the dead confined both the Greeks and the Arabians to the dissection of apes and quadrupeds; the more solid and visible parts were known in the time of Galen, and the finer scrutiny of the human frame was reserved for the microscope and the injections of modern artists. Botany is an active science, and the discoveries of the torrid zone might enrich the herbal of Dioscorides with two thousand plants. Some traditionary knowledge might be secreted in the temples and monasteries of Egypt; much useful experience had been acquired in the practice of arts and manufactures; but the *science* of chemistry owes its origin and improvement to the industry of the Saracens. They first invented and named the alembic for the purposes of distillation, analysed the substances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the distinction and affinities of alcalis and acids, and converted the poisonous minerals into soft and

CHAP. LII.

[x] See a good view of the progress of anatomy in Wotton (Reflections on ancient and modern Learning, p. 208-256). His reputation has been unworthily depreciated by the wits in the controversy of Boyle and Bentley.

[y] Bibliot. Arab. Hispana, tom. i, p. 275. Al Beithar of Malaga, their greatest botanist, had travelled into Africa, Persia, and India.

[z] Dr Watson (Elements of Chemistry, vol. i, p. 17, &c.) allows the *original* merit of the Arabians. Yet he quotes the modest confession of the famous Geber of the ixth century (d'Herbelot, p. 317), that he had drawn most of his science, perhaps of the transmutation of metals, from the ancient sages. Whatever might be the origin or extent of their knowledge, the arts of chemistry and alchymy appear to have been known in Egypt at least three hundred years before Mahomet (Wotton's Reflections, p. 121-133. Pauw, Recherches sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, tom. i, p. 370-409).

CHAP. LII.

salutary medicines. But the most eager search of Arabian chemistry was the transmutation of metals, and the elixir of immortal health: the reason and the fortunes of thousands were evaporated in the crucibles of alchymy, and the consummation of the great work was promoted by the worthy aid of mystery, fable, and superstition.

Want of erudition, taste, and freedom.

But the Moslems deprived themselves of the principal benefits of a familiar intercourse with Greece and Rome, the knowledge of antiquity, the purity of taste, and the freedom of thought. Confident in the riches of their native tongue, the Arabians disdained the study of any foreign idiom. The Greek interpreters were chosen among their christian subjects; they formed their translations, sometimes on the original text, more frequently perhaps on a Syriac version; and in the crowd of astronomers and physicians, there is no example of a poet, an orator, or even an historian, being taught to speak the language of the Saracens.[a] The mythology of Homer would have provoked the abhorrence of those stern fanatics; they possessed in lazy ignorance the colonies of the Macedonians, and the provinces of Carthage and Rome: the heroes of Plutarch and Livy were buried in oblivion; and the his-

[a] Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 26, 148) mentions a *Syriac* version of Homer's two poems, by Theophilus, a christian maronite of mount Libanus, who professed astronomy at Roha or Edessa, towards the end of the viiith century. His work would be a literary curiosity. I have read somewhere, but I do not believe, that Plutarch's Lives were translated into Turkish for the use of Mahomet the second.

tory of the world before Mahomet was reduced to a short legend of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the Persian kings. Our education in the Greek and Latin schools may have fixed in our minds a standard of exclusive taste; and I am not forward to condemn the literature and judgements of nations, of whose language I am ignorant. Yet I *know* that the classics have much to teach, and I *believe* that the orientals have much to learn: the temperate dignity of style, the graceful proportions of art, the forms of visible and intellectual beauty, the just delineation of character and passion, the rhetoric of narrative and argument, the regular fabric of epic and dramatic poetry.[b] The influence of truth and reason is of a less ambiguous complexion. The philosophers of Athens and Rome enjoyed the blessings, and asserted the rights, of civil and religious freedom. Their moral and political writings might have gradually unlocked the fetters of eastern despotism, diffused a liberal spirit of enquiry and toleration, and encouraged the Arabian sages to suspect that their caliph was a tyrant and their prophet an impostor.[c] The instinct of superstition was alarmed by the introduction even of the abstract sciences; and the

[b] I have perused with much pleasure, Sir William Jones's Latin Commentary on Asiatic Poetry (London, 1774, in octavo,) which was composed in the youth of that wonderful linguist. At present, in the maturity of his taste and judgment, he would perhaps abate of the fervent, and even partial, praise which he has bestowed on the Orientals.

[c] Among the Arabian philosophers, Averroes has been accused of despising the religion of the Jews, the Christians, and the Mahometans (see his article in Bayle's Dictionary). Each of these sects would agree, that in two instances out of three, his contempt was reasonable.

CHAP. LII.

more rigid doctors of the law condemned the rash and pernicious curiosity of Almamon.[d] To the thirst of martyrdom, the vision of paradise, and the belief of predestination, we must ascribe the invincible enthusiasm of the prince and people. And the sword of the Saracens became less formidable, when their youth was drawn away from the camp to the college, when the armies of the faithful presumed to read and to reflect. Yet the foolish vanity of the Greeks was jealous of their studies, and reluctantly imparted the sacred fire to the barbarians of the east.[e]

Wars of Harun al Rashid against the Romans, A. D. 781-805.

In the bloody conflict of the Ommiades and Abbassides, the Greeks had stolen the opportunity of avenging their wrongs, and enlarging their limits. But a severe retribution was exacted by Mohadi, the third caliph of the new dynasty, who seized in his turn the favourable opportunity, while a woman and a child, Irene and Constantine, were seated on the Byzantine throne. An army of ninety-five thousand Persians and Arabs was sent from the Tigris to the Thracian Bosphorus, under the command of Harun,[f] or Aaron, the second son of the command-

[d] D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 546.

[e] Θεοφιλος ατοκον κριτας ει την των οντων γνωσιν, δι ην το Ρωμαιων γενος θαυμαζεται εκδοτον ποιησει τοις εθνεσι, &c. Cedrenus, p. 548, who relates how manfully the emperor refused a mathematician to the instances and offers of the caliph Almamon. This absurd scruple is expressed almost in the same words by the continuator of Theophanes (Scriptores post Theophanem, p. 118).

[f] See the reign and character of Harun al Rashid, in the Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 431-433, under his proper title; and in the relative articles to which M. d'Herbelot refers. That learned collector has shewn much taste in stripping the Oriental chronicles of their instructive and amusing anecdotes.

er of the faithful. His encampment on the opposite heights of Chrysopolis or Scutari, informed Irene, in her palace of Constantinople, of the loss of her troops and provinces. With the consent or connivance of their sovereign, her ministers subscribed an ignominious peace; and the exchange of some royal gifts could not disguise the annual tribute of seventy thousand dinars of gold, which was imposed on the Roman empire. The Saracens had too rashly advanced into the midst of a distant and hostile land: their retreat was solicited by the promise of faithful guides and plentiful markets; and not a Greek had courage to whisper, that their weary forces might be surrounded and destroyed in their necessary passage between a slippery mountain and the river Sangarius. Five years after this expedition, Harun ascended the throne of his father, and his elder brother; the most powerful and vigorous monarch of his race, illustrious in the West, as the ally of Charlemagne, and familiar to the most childish readers, as the perpetual hero of the Arabian tales. His title to the name of *Al Rashid* (the *Just*) is sullied by the extirpation of the generous, perhaps the innocent, Barmecides; yet he could listen to the complaint of a poor widow who had been pillaged by his troops, and who dared, in a passage of the koran, to threaten the inattentive despot with the judgment of God and posterity. His court was adorned with luxury and science; but in a reign of three and twenty years, Harun repeatedly visited his provinces from

CHAP. LII.

CHAP. LII. Chorasan to Egypt; nine times he performed the pilgrimage of Mecca; eight times he invaded the territories of the Romans; and as often as they declined the payment of the tribute, they were taught to feel that a month of depredation was more costly than a year of submission. But when the unnatural mother of Constantine was deposed and banished, her successor Nicephorus resolved to obliterate this badge of servitude and disgrace. The epistle of the emperor to the caliph was pointed with an allusion to the game of chess, which had already spread from Persia to Greece. "The queen (he spoke of Irene) considered you as a rook and herself as a pawn. "That pusillanimous female submitted to pay "a tribute, the double of which she ought to "have exacted from the barbarians. Restore "therefore the fruits of your injustice, or abide "the determination of the sword." At these words the ambassadors cast a bundle of swords before the foot of the throne. The caliph smiled at the menace, and drawing his scymetar, *samsamah*, a weapon of historic or fabulous renown, he cut asunder the feeble arms of the Greeks, without turning the edge, or endangering the temper, of his blade. He then dictated an epistle of tremendous brevity: "In the name "of the most merciful God, Harun al Rashid, "commander of the faithful, to Nicephorus, the "Roman dog. I have read thy letter, O thou "son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not "hear, thou shalt behold my reply." It was written in characters of blood and fire on the

plains of Phrygia, and the warlike celerity of the Arabs could only be checked by the arts of deceit and the shew of repentance. The triumphant caliph retired, after the fatigues of the campaign, to his favourite palace of Racca on the Euphrates:[g] but the distance of five hundred miles, and the inclemency of the season, encouraged his adversary to violate the peace. Nicephorus was astonished by the bold and rapid march of the commander of the faithful, who repassed, in the depth of winter, the snows of mount Taurus: his stratagems of policy and war were exhausted; and the perfidious Greek escaped with three wounds from a field of battle overspread with forty thousand of his subjects. Yet the emperor was ashamed of submission, and the caliph was resolved on victory. One hundred and thirty-five thousand regular soldiers received pay, and were inscribed in the military roll; and above three hundred thousand persons of every denomination marched under the black standard of the Abbassides. They swept the surface of Asia Minor far beyond Tyana and Ancyra, and invested the Pontic Heraclea,[h] once a flourishing state, now a paltry town; at that time

[g] For the situation of Racca, the old Nicephorium, consult d'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 24-27). The Arabian Nights represent Harun al Rashid as almost stationary in Bagdad. He respected the royal seat of the Abbassides, but the vices of the inhabitants had driven him from the city (Abulfed. Annal. p. 167).

[h] M. D. Tournefort, in his coasting voyage from Constantinople to Trebizond, passed a night at Heraclea or Ereuri. His eye surveyed the present state, his reading collected the antiquities, of the city (Voyage du Levant, tom. iii, lettre xvi, p. 35-35). We have a separate history of Heraclea in the fragments of Memnon, which are preserved by Photius.

CHAP. II.

capable of sustaining in her antique walls a month's siege against the forces of the East. The ruin was complete, the spoil was ample; but if Harun had been conversant with Grecian story, he would have regretted the statue of Hercules, whose attributes, the club, the bow, the quiver, and the lion's hide, were sculptured in massy gold. The progress of desolation by sea and land, from the Euxine to the isle of Cyprus, compelled the emperor Nicephorus to retract his haughty defiance. In the new treaty the ruins of Heraclea were left for ever as a lesson and a trophy; and the coin of the tribute was marked with the image and superscription of Harun and his three sons.[f] Yet this plurality of lords might contribute to remove the dishonour of the Roman name. After the death of their father, the heirs of the caliph were involved in civil discord, and the conqueror, the liberal Almamon, was sufficiently engaged in the restoration of domestic peace and the introduction of foreign science.

The Arabs subdue the isle of Crete, A. D. 823.

Under the reign of Almamon at Bagdad, of Michael the Stammerer at Constantinople, the islands of Crete[k] and Sicily were subdued by

[f] The wars of Harun al Rashid against the Roman empire, are related by Theophanes (p. 384, 385, 391, 396, 407, 408), Zonaras (tom. ii, l. xv, p. 115, 124), Cedrenus (p. 477, 478), Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii, p. 407), Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 136, 151, 152), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 147, 151), and Abulfeda, (p. 156, 166-168).

[k] The authors from whom I have learned the most of the ancient and modern state of Crete, are Belon (Observations, &c. c. 3-20. Paris, 1555), Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. i, lettre ii, et iii), and Meursius (CRETA, in his works, tom. iii, p. 343-544). Although

the Arabs. The former of these conquests is disdained by their own writers, who were ignorant of the fame of Jupiter and Minos, but it has not been overlooked by the Byzantine historians, who now begin to cast a clearer light on the affairs of their own times.[l] A band of Andalusian volunteers, discontented with the climate or government of Spain, explored the adventures of the sea; but as they sailed in no more than ten or twenty gallies, their warfare must be branded with the name of piracy. As the subjects and sectaries of the *white* party, they might lawfully invade the dominions of the *black* caliphs. A rebellious faction introduced them into Alexandria;[m] they cut in pieces both friends and foes, pillaged the churches and the moschs, sold above six thousand christian captives, and maintained their station in the capital of Egypt, till they were oppressed by the forces and the presence of Almamon himself. From CHAP. LII.

Crete is styled by Homer πιειρη, by Dionysius λιπαρη τε και ευβοτος, I cannot conceive that mountainous island to surpass, or even to equal, in fertility the greater part of Spain.

[l] The most authentic and circumstantial intelligence is obtained from the four books of the Continuation of Theophanes, compiled by the pen or the command of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, with the Life of his father Basil the Macedonian (Scriptores post Theophanem, p. 1-162, à Francis. Combefis, Paris, 1685). The loss of Crete and Sicily is related, l. ii, p. 46-52. To these we may add the secondary evidence of Joseph Genesius (l. ii, p. 21. Venet. 1733); George Cedrenus (Compend. p. 506-508); and John Scylitzes Curopalata (apud Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 827, No. 24, &c.) But the modern Greeks are such notorious plagiaries, that I should only quote a plurality of names.

[m] Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 251-256, 268-270), has described the ravages of the Andalusian Arabs in Egypt, but has forgot to connect them with the conquest of Crete.

CHAP. LII.

the mouth of the Nile to the Hellespont, the islands and sea-coasts both of the Greeks and Moslems were exposed to their depredations; they saw, they envied, they tasted, the fertility of Crete, and soon returned with forty gallies to a more serious attack. The Andalusians wandered over the land fearless and unmolested; but when they descended with their plunder to the sea shore, their vessels were in flames, and their chief, Abu Caab, confessed himself the author of the mischief. Their clamours accused his madness or treachery: "Of what do "you complain?" replied the crafty emir. "I "have brought you to a land flowing with milk "and honey. Here is your true country; re- "pose from your toils, and forget the barren "place of your nativity." "And our wives "and children?" "Your beauteous captives "will supply the place of your wives, and in "their embraces you will soon become the fa- "thers of a new progeny." The first habitation was their camp, with a ditch and rampart, in the bay of Suda; but an apostate monk led them to a more desirable position in the eastern parts; and the name of Candax, their fortress and colony, has been extended to the whole island, under the corrupt and modern appellation of *Candia*. The hundred cities of the age of Minos were diminished to thirty; and of these, only one, most probably Cydonia, had courage to retain the substance of freedom and the profession of Christianity. The Saracens of Crete soon repaired the loss of their navy; and the timbers of mount Ida were

launched into the main. During an hostile period of one hundred and thirty-eight years, the princes of Constantinople attacked these licentious corsairs with fruitless curses and ineffectual arms. CHAP. LII.

The loss of Sicily[n] was occasioned by an act of superstitious rigour. An amorous youth, who had stolen a nun from her cloister, was sentenced by the emperor to the amputation of his tongue. Euphemius appealed to the reason and policy of the Saracens of Africa; and soon returned with the imperial purple, a fleet of one hundred ships, and an army of seven hundred horse and ten thousand foot. They landed at Mazara near the ruins of the ancient Selinus; but after some partial victories, Syracuse[o] was delivered by the Greeks, the apostate was slain before her walls, and his African friends were reduced to the necessity of feeding on the flesh of their own horses. In their turn they were relieved by a powerful reinforcement of their brethren of Andalusia: the largest and western part of the island was gradually reduced, and the commodious harbour of Palermo was chosen for the seat of the naval and military power of the Saracens. Syracuse preserved about and of Sicily, A. D. 827-878.

[n] Δηλοι (says the continuator of Theophanes, l. ii, p. 51), δε ταυτα σαφεστατα και πλατικατερον ὁ τοτε γραψας Θεοφανης και εις χειρας ἡμων ἐλθουσα ἡμων. This history of the loss of Sicily is no longer extant. Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vii, p. 7, 19, 21, &c.) has added some circumstances from the Italian chronicles.

[o] The splendid and interesting tragedy of *Tancrede* would adapt itself much better to this epoch, than to the date (A. D. 1005) which Voltaire himself has chosen. But I must gently reproach the poet, for infusing into the Greek subjects the spirit of modern knights and ancient republicans.

CHAP. LII.

fifty years the faith which she had sworn to Christ and to Cæsar. In the last and fatal siege, her citizens displayed some remnant of the spirit which had formerly resisted the powers of Athens and Carthage. They stood above twenty days against the battering-rams and *catapultæ*, the mines and tortoises of the besiegers; and the place might have been relieved, if the mariners of the imperial fleet had not been detained at Constantinople in building a church to the Virgin Mary. The deacon Theodosius, with the bishop and clergy, was dragged in chains from the altar to Palermo, cast into a subterraneous dungeon, and exposed to the hourly peril of death or apostacy. His pathetic, and not inelegant complaint, may be read as the epitaph of his country.[p] From the Roman conquest to this final calamity, Syracuse, now dwindled to the primitive isle of Ortygea, had insensibly declined. Yet the relics were still precious; the plate of the cathedral weighed five thousand pounds of silver; the entire spoil was computed at one million of pieces of gold (about four hundred thousand pounds sterling), and the captives must outnumber the seventeen thousand Christians who were transported from the sack of Tauromenium into African servitude. In Sicily the religion and language of the Greeks were eradicated; and such was the docility of the rising generation, that fifteen thousand boys

[p] The narrative or lamentation of Theodosius is transcribed and illustrated by Pagi (Critica, tom. iii, p. 719, &c.). Constantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Basil. c. 69, 70. p. 190-192), mentions the loss of Syracuse and the triumph of the demons.

were circumcised and clothed on the same day with the son of the Fatimite caliph. The Arabian squadrons issued from the harbours of Palermo, Biserta, and Tunis; an hundred and fifty towns of Calabria and Campania were attacked and pillaged; nor could the suburbs of Rome be defended by the name of the Cæsars and apostles. Had the Mahometans been united, Italy must have fallen an easy and glorious accession to the empire of the prophet. But the caliphs of Bagdad had lost their authority in the West; the Aglabites and Fatimites usurped the provinces of Africa; their emirs of Sicily aspired to independence; and the design of conquest and dominion was degraded to a repetition of predatory inroads.[q] CHAP. LII.

Invasion of Rome by the Saracens, A. D. 846.

In the sufferings of prostrate Italy, the name of Rome awakens a solemn and mournful recollection. A fleet of Saracens from the African coast presumed to enter the mouth of the Tyber, and to approach a city which even yet, in her fallen state, was revered as the metropolis of the christian world. The gates and ramparts were guarded by a trembling people; but the tombs and temples of St Peter and St Paul were left exposed in the suburbs of the Vatican and of the Ostian way. Their invisible sanctity had protected them against the Goths, the Vandals,

[q] The extracts from the Arabic historians of Sicily are given in Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 271-273), and in the first volume of Muratori's Scriptores Rerum Italicarum. M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i, p. 363, 364), has added some important facts.

CHAP. LII.

and the Lombards; but the Arabs disdained both the gospel and the legend; and their rapacious spirit was approved and animated by the precepts of the koran. The christian *idols* were stripped of their costly offerings; a silver altar was torn away from the shrine of St Peter; and if the bodies or the buildings were left entire, their deliverance must be imputed to the haste, rather than the scruples, of the Saracens. In their course along the Appian way, they pillaged Fundi and besieged Gayeta; but they had turned aside from the walls of Rome, and, by their divisions, the Capitol was saved from the yoke of the prophet of Mecca. The same danger still impended on the heads of the Roman people; and their domestic force was unequal to the assault of an African emir. They claimed the protection of their Latin sovereign; but the Carlovingian standard was overthrown by a detachment of the barbarians: they meditated the restoration of the Greek emperors; but the attempt was treasonable, and the succour remote and precarious.[1] Their distress appeared to receive some aggravation from the death of their spiritual and temporal chief; but the pressing emergency superseded the forms and intrigues of an election; and the unanimous choice of pope

[1] One of the most eminent Romans (Gratianus, magister militum et Romani palatii superista) was accused of declaring, Quia Franci nihil nobis boni faciunt, neque adjutorium præbent, sed magis quæ nostra sunt violenter tollunt. Quare non advocamus Græcos, et cum eis fœdus pacis componentes, Francorum regem et gentem de nostro regno et dominatione expellimus? Anastasius in Leone IV. p. 199.

Leo the Fourth* was the safety of the church and city. This pontiff was born a Roman; the courage of the first ages of the republic glowed in his breast; and, amidst the ruins of his country, he stood erect, like one of the firm and lofty columns that rear their heads above the fragments of the Roman forum. The first days of his reign were consecrated to the purification and removal of relics, to prayers and processions, and to all the solemn offices of religion, which served at least to heal the imagination, and restore the hopes, of the multitude. The public defence had been long neglected, not from the presumption of peace, but from the distress and poverty of the times. As far as the scantiness of his means and the shortness of his leisure would allow, the ancient walls were repaired by the command of Leo; fifteen towers, in the most accessible stations, were built or renewed; two of these commanded on either side the Tyber; and an iron chain was drawn across the stream to impede the ascent of an hostile navy. The Romans were assured of a short respite by the welcome news, that the siege of Gayeta had been raised, and that a part of the enemy, with their sacrilegious plunder, had perished in the waves. CHAP. LII.

But the storm which had been delayed, soon burst upon them with redoubled violence. The Victory and reign of Leo IV. A. D. 849.

* Voltaire (Hist. Generale, tom. ii. c. 38. p. 124), appears to be remarkably struck with the character of Pope Leo IV. I have borrowed his general expression, but the sight of the forum has furnished me with a more distinct and lively image.

CHAP. LII.

Aglabite,[1] who reigned in Africa, had inherited from his father a treasure and an army: a fleet of Arabs and Moors, after a short refreshment in the harbours of Sardinia, cast anchor before the mouth of the Tyber, sixteen miles from the city; and their discipline and numbers appeared to threaten, not a transient inroad, but a serious design of conquest and dominion. But the vigilance of Leo had formed an alliance with the vassals of the Greek empire, the free and maritime states of Gaycta, Naples, and Amalfi; and in the hour of danger, their gallies appeared in the port of Ostia, under the command of Cæsarius, the son of the Neapolitan duke, a noble and valiant youth, who had already vanquished the fleets of the Saracens. With his principal companions, Cæsarius was invited to the Lateran palace, and the dexterous pontiff affected to enquire their errand, and to accept with joy and surprise their providential succour. The city bands, in arms, attended their father to Ostia, where he reviewed and blessed his generous deliverers. They kissed his feet, received the communion with martial devotion, and listened to the prayer of Leo, that the same God who had supported St Peter and St Paul on the waves of the sea, would strengthen the hands of his champions against the adversaries of his holy name. After a similar prayer, and with equal resolution,

[1] De Guignes, Hist. Generale des Huns, tom. i, p. 362, 364. Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, sous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii, p. 24, 25. I observe, and cannot reconcile, the difference of these writers in the succession of the Aglabites.

the Moslems advanced to the attack of the christian gallies, which preserved their advantageous station along the coast. The victory inclined to the side of the allies, when it was less gloriously decided in their favour by a sudden tempest, which confounded the skill and courage of the stoutest mariners. The Christians were sheltered in a friendly harbour, while the Africans were scattered and dashed in pieces among the rocks and islands of an hostile shore. Those who escaped from shipwreck and hunger, neither found nor deserved mercy at the hands of their implacable pursuers. The sword and the gibbet reduced the dangerous multitude of captives; and the remainder was more usefully employed, to restore the sacred edifices which they had attempted to subvert. The pontiff, at the head of the citizens and allies, paid his grateful devotion at the shrines of the apostles; and among the spoils of this naval victory, thirteen Arabian bows of pure and massy silver were suspended round the altar of the fishermen of Galilee. The reign of Leo the Fourth was employed in the defence and ornament of the Roman state. The churches were renewed and embellished; near four thousand pounds of silver were consecrated to repair the losses of St Peter; and his sanctuary was decorated with a plate of gold the weight of two hundred and sixteen pounds, embossed with the portraits of the pope and emperor, and encircled with a string of pearls. Yet this vain magnificence reflects less glory on the character of Leo, than the paternal care with which he rebuilt the walls of Horta and Ameria; and trans-

CHAP. LII.

CHAP. LII.

ported the wandering inhabitants of Centumcellæ to his new foundation of Leopolis, twelve miles from the sea-shore.[a] By his liberality a colony of Corsicans, with their wives and children, was planted in the station of Porto at the mouth of the Tiber: the falling city was restored for their use, the fields and vineyards were divided among the new settlers: their first efforts were assisted by a gift of horses and cattle; and the hardy exiles, who breathed revenge against the Saracens, swore to live and die under the standard of St Peter. The nations of the West and North who visited the threshold of the apostles, had gradually formed the large and populous suburb of the Vatican, and their various habitations were distinguished, in the language of the times, as the *schools* of the Greeks and Goths, of the Lombards and Saxons. But this venerable spot was still open to sacrilegious insult: the design of inclosing it with walls and towers exhausted all that authority could command, or charity would supply; and the pious labour of four years was animated in every season, and at every hour, by the presence of the indefatigable pontiff. The love of fame, a generous but worldly passion, may be detected in the name of the *Leonine city*, which he bestowed on the Vatican; yet the pride of the dedication was tempered with christian penance and humility. The boundary was trod by the bishop and his clergy, barefoot, in sackcloth and ashes; the songs of triumph were modulated to psalms and litanies; the walls were

Foundation of the Leonine city, A. D. 852.

[a] Beretti (Chorographia Italiæ Medii Ævi, p. 106, 108), has illustrated Centumcellæ, Leopolis, Civitas Leonina, and the other places of the Roman duchy.

besprinkled with holy water; and the ceremony was concluded with a prayer, that under the guardian care of the apostles and the angelic host, both the old and the new Rome might ever be preserved pure, prosperous, and impregnable.* CHAP. LII.

The Amorian war between Theophilus and Motassem, A. D. 838.

The emperor Theophilus, son of Michael the Stammerer, was one of the most active and high-spirited princes who reigned at Constantinople during the middle age. In offensive or defensive war, he marched in person five times against the Saracens, formidable in his attack, esteemed by the enemy in his losses and defeats. In the last of these expeditions he penetrated into Syria, and besieged the obscure town of Sozopetra, the casual birth-place of the caliph Motassem, whose father Harun was attended in peace or war by the most favourite of his wives and concubines. The revolt of a Persian impostor employed at that moment the arms of the Saracen, and he could only intercede in favour of a place for which he felt and acknowledged some degree of filial affection. These solicitations determined the emperor to wound his pride in so sensible a part. Sozopetra was levelled with the ground, the Syrian prisoners were marked or mutilated with ignominious cruelty, and a thousand female captives were forced away from the adjacent ter-

* The Arabs and the Greeks are alike silent concerning the invasion of Rome by the Africans. The Latin chronicles do not afford much instruction (see the Annals of Baronius and Pagi). Our authentic and contemporary guide for the popes of the 9th century is Anastasius, librarian of the Roman church. His Life of Leo IV. contains twenty-four pages (p. 175-199, edit. Paris); and if a great part consist of superstitious trifles, we must blame or commend his hero, who was much oftener in a church than in a camp.

CHAP. LII.

ritory. Among these a matron of the house of Abbas invoked, in an agony of despair, the name of Motassem; and the insults of the Greeks engaged the honour of her kinsman to avenge his indignity, and to answer her appeal. Under the reign of the two elder brothers, the inheritance of the youngest had been confined to Anatolia, Armenia, Georgia, and Circassia; this frontier station had exercised his military talents; and among his accidental claims to the name of *Octonary*,[y] the most meritorious are the *eight* battles which he gained or fought against the enemies of the koran. In this personal quarrel, the troops of Irak, Syria, and Egypt, were recruited from the tribes of Arabia, and the Turkish hords: his cavalry might be numerous, though we should deduct some myriads from the hundred and thirty thousand horses of the royal stables; and the expence of the armament was computed at four millions sterling, or one hundred thousand pounds of gold. From Tarsus, the place of assembly, the Saracens advanced in three divisions along the high road of Constantinople: Motassem himself commanded the centre, and the vanguard was given to his son Abbas, who, in the trial of the first adventures, might succeed with the more glory, or fail with the least reproach. In the revenge of his injury, the caliph prepared to retaliate a similar affront. The father of Theophilus was a native of Amorium[z]

[y] The same number was applied to the following circumstance in the life of Motassem: he was the *eighth* of the Abbassides; he reigned *eight* years, *eight* months, and *eight* days; left *eight* sons, *eight* daughters, *eight* thousand slaves, *eight* millions of gold.

[z] Amorium is seldom mentioned by the old geographers, and total-

in Phrygia: the original seat of the imperial house had been adorned with privileges and monuments; and whatever might be the indifference of the people, Constantinople itself was scarcely of more value in the eyes of the sovereign and his court. The name of *Amorium* was inscribed on the shields of the Saracens; and their three armies were again united under the walls of the devoted city. It had been proposed by the wisest counsellors, to evacuate Amorium, to remove the inhabitants, and to abandon the empty structures to the vain resentment of the barbarians. The emperor embraced the more generous resolution of defending, in a siege and battle, the country of his ancestors. When the armies drew near, the front of the Mahometan line appeared to a Roman eye more closely planted with spears and javelins; but the event of the action was not glorious on either side to the national troops. The Arabs were broken, but it was by the swords of thirty thousand Persians, who had obtained service and settlement in the Byzantine empire. The Greeks were repulsed and vanquished, but it was by the arrows of the Turkish cavalry; and had not their bow-strings been damped and relaxed by the evening rain, very few of the Christians could have escaped with the emperor from the field of battle. They breathed at Dorylæum, at the distance of three days; and Theophilus, reviewing

CHAP. LII.

ly forgotten in the Roman Itineraries. After the 6th century, it became an episcopal see, and at length the metropolis of the new Galatia (Carol. Seto. Paulo, Geograph. Sacra, p. 231). The city rose again from its ruins, if we should read *Ammuria*, not *Anguria*, in the text of the Nubian geographer (p. 236).

CHAP. LII.

his trembling squadrons, forgave the common flight both of the prince and people. After this discovery of his weakness, he vainly hoped to deprecate the fate of Amorium: the inexorable caliph rejected with contempt his prayers and promises; and detained the Roman ambassadors to be the witnesses of his great revenge. They had nearly been the witnesses of his shame. The vigorous assaults of fifty-five days were encountered by a faithful governor, a veteran garrison, and a desperate people; and the Saracens must have raised the siege if a domestic traitor had not pointed to the weakest part of the wall, a place which was decorated with the statues of a lion and a bull. The vow of Motassem was accomplished with unrelenting rigour: tired, rather than satiated, with destruction, he returned to his new palace of Samara, in the neighbourhood of Bagdad, while the *unfortunate*[a] Theophilus implored the tardy and doubtful aid of his Western rival the emperor of the Franks. Yet in the siege of Amorium above seventy thousand Moslems had perished: their loss had been revenged by the slaughter of thirty thousand Christians, and the sufferings of an equal number of captives, who were treated as the most atrocious criminals. Mutual necessity could sometimes extort the exchange or ransom of prisoners;[b] but

[a] In the East he was styled Ανευχης (Continuator Theophan. l. iii, p. 84); but such was the ignorance of the West, that his ambassadors, in public discourse, might boldly narrate, de victoriis, quas adversus exteras bellando gentes cœlitus fuerat assecutus. (Annalist. Bertinian. apud Pagi, tom. iii, p. 720).

[b] Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 167, 168) relates one of these singular transactions on the bridge of the river Lamus in Cilicia, the limit of the two empires, and one day's journey westward of Tarsus (d'Anville,

CHAP. LII.

in the national and religious conflict of the two empires, peace was without confidence, and war without mercy. Quarter was seldom given in the field; those who escaped the edge of the sword, were condemned to hopeless servitude, or exquisite torture; and a catholic emperor relates, with visible satisfaction, the execution of the Saracens of Crete, who were flayed alive, or plunged into caldrons of boiling oil.[c] To a point of honour Motassem had sacrificed a flourishing city, two hundred thousand lives, and the property of millions. The same caliph descended from his horse, and dirtied his robe to relieve the distress of a decrepid old man, who, with his laden ass, had tumbled into a ditch. On which of these actions did he reflect with the most pleasure, when he was summoned by the angel of death?[d]

Disorders of the Turkish guards, A. D. 811-870, &c.

With Motassem, the eighth of the Abbassides, the glory of his family and nation expired. When the Arabian conquerors had spread themselves over the East, and were mingled with the servile

Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii, p. 91). Four thousand four hundred and sixty Moslems, eight hundred women and children, one hundred confederates, were exchanged for an equal number of Greeks. They passed each other in the middle of the bridge, and when they reached their respective friends, they shouted *Allah Achar*, and *Kyrie Eleison*. Many of the prisoners of Amorium were probably among them, but in the same year (A. H. 231), the most illustrious of them, the forty-two martyrs, were beheaded by the caliph's order.

[c] Constantin. Porphyrogenitus, in Vit. Basil. c. 61, p. 186. These Saracens were indeed treated with peculiar severity as pirates and renegadoes.

[d] For Theophilus, Motassem, and the Amorian war, see the Continuator of Theophanes (l. iii, p. 77-84); Genesius (l. iii, p. 24-34); Cedrenus (528-532); Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 180); Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 165, 166); Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 191); d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 639, 640).

CHAP. LII.

crowds of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, they insensibly lost the freeborn and martial virtues of the desert. The courage of the South is the artificial fruit of discipline and prejudice; the active power of enthusiasm had decayed, and the mercenary forces of the caliphs were recruited in those climates of the north, of which valour is the hardy and spontaneous production. Of the Turks,[e] who dwelt beyond the Oxus and Jaxartes, the robust youths, either taken in war or purchased in trade, were educated in the exercises of the field, and the profession of the Mahometan faith. The Turkish guards stood in arms round the throne of their benefactor, and their chiefs usurped the dominion of the palace and the provinces. Motassem, the first author of this dangerous example, introduced into the capital above fifty thousand Turks: their licentious conduct provoked the public indignation, and the quarrels of the soldiers and people induced the caliph to retire from Bagdad, and establish his own residence and the camp of his barbarian favourites at Samara on the Tigris, about twelve leagues above the city of Peace.[f] His son Motawakkel was a jealous and cruel tyrant: odious to his subjects, he cast

[e] M. de Guignes, who sometimes leaps, and sometimes stumbles, in the gulph between Chinese and Mahometan story, thinks he can see that these Turks are the *Hoei-ke*, alias the *Kao-tche*, or *high-waggons*; that they were divided into fifteen hords, from China and Siberia to the dominions of the caliphs and Samanides, &c. (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii, p. 1-33, 124-131).

[f] He changed the old names of Sumere, or Samara, into the fanciful title of *Ser-men-rai*, that which gives pleasure at first sight (d'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 808, d'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p 97, 98.)

himself on the fidelity of the strangers, and these strangers, ambitious and apprehensive, were tempted by the rich promise of a revolution. At the instigation, or at least in the cause of his son, they burst into his apartment at the hour of supper, and the caliph was cut into seven pieces by the same swords which he had recently distributed among the guards of his life and throne. To this throne, yet streaming with a father's blood, Montasser was triumphantly led; but in a reign of six months, he found only the pangs of a guilty conscience. If he wept at the sight of an old tapestry which represented the crime and punishment of the sons of Chosroes; if his days were abridged by grief and remorse, we may allow some pity to a parricide, who exclaimed in the bitterness of death, that he had lost both this world and the world to come. After this act of treason, the ensigns of royalty, the garment and walking staff of Mahomet, were given and torn away by the foreign mercenaries, who in four years created, deposed, and murdered three commanders of the faithful. As often as the Turks were inflamed by fear, or rage, or avarice, these caliphs were dragged by the feet, exposed naked to the scorching sun, beaten with iron clubs, and compelled to purchase, by the abdication of their dignity, a short reprieve of inevitable fate.[s] At length, however, the fury of the

[s] Take a specimen, the death of the caliph Motaz: Correptum pedibus petrahunt, et sudibus probe permulcant, et spoliatum laceris vestibus in sole collocant, præ cujus, acerrimo æstû pedes alternis attolebat et demittebat. Adstantium aliquis misero colaphos continuo ingerebat, quos ille objectis manibus avertere studebat..... Quo

CHAP. LII.

tempest was spent or diverted: the Abbassides returned to the less turbulent residence of Bagdad; the insolence of the Turks was curbed with a firmer and more skilful hand, and their numbers were divided and destroyed in foreign warfare. But the nations of the East had been taught to trample on the successors of the prophet; and the blessings of domestic peace were obtained by the relaxation of strength and discipline. So uniform are the mischiefs of military despotism, that I seem to repeat the story of the prætorians of Rome.[h]

Rise and progress of the Carmathians, A. D. 890-951.

While the flame of enthusiasm was damped by the business, the pleasure, and the knowledge, of the age, it burnt with concentrated heat in the breasts of the chosen few, the congenial spirits, who were ambitious of reigning either in this world or in the next. How carefully soever the book of prophecy had been sealed by the apostle of Mecca, the wishes, and (if we may profane the word) even the reason, of fanaticism, might believe that, after the successive missions of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet, the same God, in the fulness of time, would reveal a still more perfect and permanent law. In the two hundred and seventy-seventh year of the Hegira, and in the neighbourhood of Cufa, an

facto traditus tortori fuit totoque triduo cibo potuque prohibitus. . . . Sufforatus, &c. (Abulfeda, p. 206). Of the caliph Mohtadi, he says, cervices ipsi perpetuis ictibus contundebant, testiculosque pedibus conculcabant (p. 208).

[h] See under the reigns of Motassem, Motawakkel, Mostanser, Mostain, Motaz, Mohtadi, and Motamed, in the Bibliotheque of d'Herbelot, and the now familiar Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda.

CHAP. LII.

Arabian preacher, of the name of Carmath, assumed the lofty and incomprehensible style of the guide, the director, the demonstration, the word, the holy ghost, the camel, the herald of the Messiah, who had conversed with him in a human shape, and the representative of Mohammed the son of Ali, of St John the baptist, and of the angel Gabriel. In his mystic volume, the precepts of the koran were refined to a more spiritual sense: he relaxed the duties of ablution, fasting, and pilgrimage; allowed the indiscriminate use of wine and forbidden fruit; and nourished the fervour of his disciples by the daily repetition of fifty prayers. The idleness and ferment of the rustic crowd awakened the attention of the magistrates of Cufa; a timid persecution assisted the progress of the new sect, and the name of the prophet became more revered after his person had been withdrawn from the world. His twelve apostles dispersed themselves among the Bedoweens, "a race of men," says Abulfeda, "equally devoid of reason and of religion;" and the success of their preaching seemed to threaten Arabia with a new revolution. The Carmathians were ripe for rebellion, since they disclaimed the title of the house of Abbas, and abhorred the worldly pomp of the caliphs of Bagdad. They were susceptible of discipline, since they vowed a blind and absolute submission to their imam, who was called to the prophetic office by the voice of God and the people. Instead of the legal tithes, he claimed the fifth of their substance and spoil: the most flagitious sins were no more than the type

CHAP. LII.

Their military exploits, A. D. 900, &c.

of disobedience; and the brethren were united and concealed by an oath of secrecy. After a bloody conflict, they prevailed in the province of Bahrein, along the Persian Gulf: far and wide, the tribes of the desert were subject to the sceptre, or rather to the sword, of Abu Said and his son Abu Taher; and these rebellious imams could muster in the field an hundred and seven thousand fanatics. The mercenaries of the caliph were dismayed at the approach of an enemy who neither asked nor accepted quarter; and the difference between them, in fortitude and patience, is expressive of the change which three centuries of prosperity had effected in the character of the Arabians. Such troops were discomfited in every action; the cities of Racca and Baalbec, of Cufa, and Bassora, were taken and pillaged; Bagdad was filled with consternation; and the caliph trembled behind the veils of his palace. In a daring inroad beyond the Tigris, Abu Taher advanced to the gates of the capital with no more than five hundred horse. By the special order of Moctader, the bridges had been broken down, and the person or head of the rebel was expected every hour by the commander of the faithful. His lieutenant, from a motive of fear or pity, apprised Abu Taher of his danger, and recommended a speedy escape. "Your master," said the intrepid Carmathian to the messenger, "is at the head of "thirty thousand soldiers: three such men as "these are wanting in his host:" at the same instant, turning to three of his companions, he commanded the first to plunge a dagger into

his breast, the second to leap into the Tigris, and the third to cast himself headlong down a precipice. They obeyed without a murmur. "Relate," continued the imam, "what you "have seen: before the evening your general "shall be chained among my dogs." Before the evening, the camp was surprised and the menace was executed. The rapine of the Carmathians was sanctified by their aversion to the worship of Mecca: they robbed a caravan of pilgrims, and twenty thousand devout Moslems were abandoned on the burning sands to a death of hunger and thirst. Another year they suffered the pilgrims to proceed without interruption; but, in the festival of devotion, Abu Taher stormed the holy city, and trampled on the most venerable relics of the Mahometan faith. Thirty thousand citizens and strangers were put to the sword; the sacred precincts were pollated by the burial of three thousand dead bodies; the well of Zemzem overflowed with blood; the golden spout was forced from its place; the veil of the Caaba was divided among these impious sectaries; and the black stone, the first monument of the nation, was borne away in triumph to their capital. After this deed of sacrilege and cruelty, they continued to infest the confines of Irak, Syria, and Egypt; but the vital principle of enthusiasm had withered at the root. Their scruples or their avarice again opened the pilgrimage of Mecca, and restored the black stone of the Caaba; and it is needless to enquire into what factions they were broken, or by whose swords they were finally extirpated.

CHAP. LII.

They pillage Mecca, A. D. 929.

CHAP. LII.

The sect of the Carmathians may be considered as the second visible cause of the decline and fall of the empire of the caliphs.[i]

Revolt of the provinces, A. D. 800-936.

The third and most obvious cause was the weight and magnitude of the empire itself. The caliph Almamon might proudly assert, that it was easier for him to rule the East and the West, than to manage a chess-board of two feet square;[k] yet I suspect, that in both those games he was guilty of many fatal mistakes; and I perceive, that in the distant provinces the authority of the first and most powerful of the Abbassides was already impaired. The analogy of despotism invests the representative with the full majesty of the prince; the division and balance of powers might relax the habits of obedience, might encourage the passive subject to enquire into the origin and administration of civil government. He who is born in the purple is seldom worthy to reign; but the elevation of a private man, of a peasant perhaps, or a slave, affords a strong presumption of his courage and capacity. The viceroy of a remote kingdom aspires to secure the property and inheritance of his precarious trust; the nations must rejoice in the presence of their sovereign; and the command of armies and treasures are at once

[i] For the sect of the Carmathians, consult Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 219, 224, 229, 231, 238, 241, 243), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 179-182), Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 218, 219, &c. 245, 265, 274), and d'Herbelot (Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 256-258, 635.) I find some inconsistencies of theology and chronology, which it would not be easy nor of much importance to reconcile.

[k] Hyde, Syntagma Dissertat. tom. ii, p. 57, in Hist. Shahiludii.

the object and the instrument of his ambition. A change was scarcely visible as long as the lieutenants of the caliph were content with their vicarious title; while they solicited for themselves or their sons a renewal of the imperial grant, and still maintained on the coin, and in the public prayers, the name and prerogative of the commander of the faithful. But in the long and hereditary exercise of power, they assumed the pride and attributes of royalty; the alternative of peace or war, of reward or punishment, depended solely on their will; and the revenues of the government were reserved for local services or private magnificence. Instead of a regular supply of men and money, the successors of the prophet were flattered with the ostentatious gift of an elephant, or a cast of hawks, a suit of silk hangings, or some pounds of musk and amber.[1] CHAP. LII.

The independent dynasties.

After the revolt of Spain, from the temporal and spiritual supremacy of the Abbassides, the first symptoms of disobedience broke forth in the province of Africa. Ibrahim, the son of Aglab, the lieutenant of the vigilant and rigid Harun, bequeathed to the dynasty of the *Aglabites* the inheritance of his name and power. The indolence or policy of the caliphs dissembled

The Aglabites, A. D. 800-911.

[1] The dynasties of the Arabian empire may be studied in the Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda, under the *proper* years; in the dictionary of d'Herbelot, under the *proper* names. The tables of M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i), exhibit a general chronology of the East, interspersed with some historical anecdotes; but his attachment to national blood has sometimes confounded the order of time and place.

CHAP. LII.

the injury and loss, and pursued only with poison the founder of the *Edrisites*,[m] who erected the kingdom and city of Fez on the shores of the western ocean.[n] In the East, the first dynasty was that of the *Taherites*;[o] the posterity of the valiant Taher, who, in the civil wars of the sons of Harun, had served with too much zeal and success the cause of Almamon, the younger brother. He was sent into honourable exile, to command on the banks of the Oxus; and the independence of his successors, who reigned in Chorasan till the fourth generation, was palliated by their modest and respectful demeanour, the happiness of their subjects, and the security of their frontier. They were supplanted by one of those adventurers so frequent in the annals of the East, who left his trade of a brazier (from whence the name of *Soffarides*) for the profession of a robber. In a nocturnal visit to the treasure of the prince of Sistan, Jacob, the son of

The Edrisites, A. D. 829-907.

The Taherites, A. D. 813-872.

The Soffarides, A. D. 872-902.

[m] The Aglabites and Edrisites are the professed subject of M. de Cardonne (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii, p. 1-63).

[n] To escape the reproach of error, I must criticise the inaccuracies of M. de Guignes (tom. i, p. 359), concerning the Edrisites. 1. The dynasty and city of Fez could not be founded in the year of the Hegira 173, since the founder was a *posthumous* child of a descendant of Ali, who fled from Mecca in the year 168. 2. This founder, Edris, the son of Edris, instead of living to the improbable age of 120 years, A. H. 313, died A. H. 214, in the prime of manhood. 3. The dynasty ended A. H. 307, twenty-three years sooner than it is fixed by the historian of the Huns. See the accurate Annals of Abulfeda, p. 158, 159, 185, 238.

[o] The dynasties of the Taherites and Soffarides, with the rise of that of the Samanides, are described in the original history and Latin version of Mirchond; yet the most interesting facts had already been drained by the diligence of M. d'Herbelot.

CHAP. LII.

Leith, stumbled over a lump of salt, which he unwarily tasted with his tongue. Salt, among the Orientals, is the symbol of hospitality, and the pious robber immediately retired without spoil or damage. The discovery of this honourable behaviour recommended Jacob to pardon and trust; he led an army at first for his benefactor, at last for himself, subdued Persia, and threatened the residence of the Abbassides. On his march towards Bagdad, the conqueror was arrested by a fever. He gave audience in bed to the ambassador of the caliph; and beside him on a table were exposed a naked scymetar, a crust of brown bread, and a bunch of onions. "If I die," said he, "your master is delivered "from his fears. If I live, *this* must determine "between us. If I am vanquished, I can return "without reluctance to the homely fare of my "youth." From the height where he stood, the descent would not have been so soft or harmless; a timely death secured his own repose and that of the caliph, who paid with the most lavish concessions the retreat of his brother Amrou to the palaces of Shiraz and Ispahan. The Abbassides were too feeble to contend, too proud to forgive: they invited the powerful dynasty of the *Samanides*, who passed the Oxus with ten thousand horse, so poor, that their stirrups were of wood; so brave, that they vanquished the Soffarian army, eight times more numerous than their own. The captive Amrou was sent in chains, a grateful offering to the court of Bagdad; and as the victor was content with the inheritance of Transoxiana and Chorasan, the

The Samanides, A. D. 874-999.

CHAP. LII.

realms of Persia returned for a while to the allegiance of the caliphs. The provinces of Syria and Egypt were twice dismembered by their Turkish slaves, of the race of *Toulun* and *Ikshid*.[p] These barbarians, in religion and manners the countrymen of Mahomet, emerged from the bloody factions of the palace to a provincial command and an independent throne: their names became famous and formidable in their time; but the founders of these two potent dynasties confessed, either in words or actions, the vanity of ambition. The first on his death-bed implored the mercy of God to a sinner, ignorant of the limits of his own power: the second, in the midst of four hundred thousand soldiers and eight thousand slaves, concealed from every human eye the chamber where he attempted to sleep. Their sons were educated in the vices of kings; and both Egypt and Syria were recovered and possessed by the Abbassides during an interval of thirty years. In the decline of their empire, Mesopotamia, with the important cities of Mosul and Aleppo, was occupied by the Arabian princes of the tribe of *Hamadan*. The poets of their court could repeat, without a blush, that nature had formed their countenances for beauty, their tongues for eloquence, and their hands for liberality and valour: but the genuine tale of the elevation and reign of the *Hamadanites* exhibits a scene of treachery, murder, and parricide. At the same fatal period, the

The Toulunides, A. D. 868-905.

The Ikshidites, A. D. 931-968.

The Hamadanites, A. D. 892-1001.

[p] M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii, p. 124-154), has exhausted the Toulunides and Ikshidites of Egypt, and thrown some light on the Carmathians and Hamadanites.

CHAP. LII.

Persian kingdom was again usurped by the dynasty of the *Boxides*, by the sword of three brothers, who, under various names, were styled the support and columns of the state, and who, from the Caspian sea to the ocean, would suffer no tyrants but themselves. Under their reign, the language and genius of Persia revived, and the Arabs, three hundred and four years after the death of Mahomet, were deprived of the sceptre of the East.

The Boxides, A. D. 933-1005.

Rahdi, the twentieth of the Abbassides, and the thirty-ninth of the successors of Mahomet, was the last who deserved the title of commander of the faithful:[q] the last (says Abulfeda) who spoke to the people, or conversed with the learned; the last who, in the expence of his household, represented the wealth and magnificence of the ancient caliphs. After him, the lords of the Eastern world were reduced to the most abject misery, and exposed to the blows and insults of a servile condition. The revolt of the provinces circumscribed their dominions within the walls of Bagdad; but that capital still contained

Fallen state of the caliphs of Bagdad, A. D. 936, &c.

[q] Hic est ultimus chalifah qui multum atque sæpius pro concione perorarit. . . . Fuit etiam ultimus qui otium cum eruditis et facetis hominibus fallere hilariterque agere solerot. Ultimus tandem chalifarum cui sumptus, stipendia, reditus, et thesauri, culmæ, cæteraque omnis aulica pompa priorum chalifarum ad instar comparata fuerint. Videbimus enim paullo post quam indignis et servilibus ludibriis exagitati, quam ad humilem fortunam ultimumque contemptum abjecti fuerint hi quondam potentissimi totius terrarum Orientalium orbis domini. Abulfed. Annal. Moslem. p. 261. I have given this passage as the manner and tone of Abulfeda; but the cast of Latin eloquence belongs more properly to Reiske. The Arabian historian (p. 255, 257, 261-269, 283, &c.) has supplied me with the most interesting facts of this paragraph.

CHAP. LII.

an innumerable multitude, vain of their past fortune, discontented with their present state, and oppressed by the demands of a treasury, which had formerly been replenished by the spoil and tribute of nations. Their idleness was exercised by faction and controversy. Under the mask of piety, the rigid followers of Hanbal[r] invaded the pleasures of domestic life, burst into the houses of plebeians and princes, spilt the wine, broke the instruments, beat the musicians, and dishonoured, with infamous suspicions, the associates of every handsome youth. In each profession, which allowed room for two persons, the one was a votary, the other an antagonist, of Ali; and the Abbassides were awakened by the clamorous grief of the sectaries, who denied their title, and cursed their progenitors. A turbulent people could only be repressed by a military force; but who could satisfy the avarice, or assert the discipline, of the mercenaries themselves? The African and the Turkish guards drew their swords against each other, and the chief commanders, the emirs al Omra,[s] imprisoned or deposed their sovereigns, and violated the

[r] Their master, on a similar occasion, shewed himself of a more indulgent and tolerating spirit. Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, the head of one of the four orthodox sects, was born at Bagdad, A. H. 164, and died there A. H. 241. He fought and suffered in the dispute concerning the creation of the koran.

[s] The office of vizir was superseded by the emir al Omra Imperator Imperatorum, a title first instituted by Radhi, and which merged at length in the Bowides and Seljukides: vectigalibus, et tributis, et curis per omnes regiones præfecit, jussitque in omnibus suggestis nominis ejus in concionibus mentionem fieri (Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 199). It is likewise mentioned by Elmacin (p. 254, 255).

sanctuary of the mosch and haram. If the caliphs escaped to the camp or court of any neighbouring prince, their deliverance was a change of servitude, till they were prompted by despair to invite the Bowides, the sultans of Persia, who silenced the factions of Bagdad by their irresistible arms. The civil and military powers were assumed by Moezaldowlat, the second of the three brothers, and a stipend of sixty thousand pounds sterling was assigned by his generosity for the private expence of the commander of the faithful. But on the fortieth day, at the audience of the ambassadors of Chorasan, and in the presence of a trembling multitude, the caliph was dragged from his throne to a dungeon, by the command of the stranger, and the rude hands of his Dilemites. His palace was pillaged, his eyes were put out, and the mean ambition of the Abbassides aspired to the vacant station of danger and disgrace. In the school of adversity, the luxurious caliphs resumed the grave and abstemious virtues of the primitive times. Despoiled of their armour and silken robes, they fasted, they prayed, they studied the koran and the tradition of the Sonnites; they performed with zeal and knowledge the functions of their ecclesiastical character. The respect of nations still waited on the successors of the apostle, the oracles of the law and conscience of the faithful; and the weakness or division of their tyrants sometimes restored the Abbassides to the sovereignty of Bagdad. But their misfortunes had been embittered by the triumph of the Fatimites, the

CHAP. LII.

real or spurious progeny of Ali. Arising from the extremity of Africa, these successful rivals extinguished in Egypt and Syria, both the spiritual and temporal authority of the Abbassides; and the monarch of the Nile insulted the humble pontiff on the banks of the Tigris.

Enterprises of the Greeks, A. D. 960.

In the declining age of the caliphs, in the century which elapsed after the war of Theophilus and Motassem, the hostile transactions of the two nations were confined to some inroads by sea and land, the fruits of their close vicinity and indelible hatred. But when the eastern world was convulsed and broken, the Greeks were roused from their lethargy by the hopes of conquest and revenge. The Byzantine empire, since the accession of the Basilian race, had reposed in peace and dignity; and they might encounter with their entire strength the front of some petty emir, whose rear was assaulted and threatened by his national foes of the Mahometan faith. The lofty titles of the morning star, and the death of the Saracens,[1] were applied in the public acclamations to Nicephorus Phocas, a prince as renowned in the camp as he was unpopular in the city. In the subordinate station of great domestic, or general of the East, he reduced the island of Crete, and extirpated the nest of pirates who had so long de-

Reduction of Crete.

[1] Liutprand, whose choleric temper was embittered by his uneasy situation, suggest the names of reproach and contempt more applicable to Nicephorus than the vain titles of the Greeks, Ecce venit stella matutina, surgit Eous, reverberat obtutú solis radios, pallida, Saracenorum mors, Nicephorus μάταιος.

fied, with impunity, the majesty of the empire.[w] His military genius was displayed in the conduct and success of the enterprise, which had so often failed with loss and dishonour. The Saracens were confounded by the landing of his troops on safe and level bridges, which he cast from the vessels to the shore. Seven months were consumed in the siege of Candia; the despair of the native Cretans was stimulated by the frequent aid of their brethren of Africa and Spain: and, after the massy wall and double ditch had been stormed by the Greeks, an hopeless conflict was still maintained in the streets and houses of the city. The whole island was subdued in the capital, and a submissive people accepted, without resistance, the baptism of the conqueror.[x] Constantinople applauded the long-forgotten pomp of a triumph; but the imperial diadem was the sole reward that could repay the services, or satisfy the ambition, of Nicephorus. CHAP. LII.

After the death of the younger Romanus, the fourth in lineal descent of the Basilian race, his The eastern conquests of Nicephorus

[w] Notwithstanding the insinuations of Zonaras, και ου μην, &c. (tom. ii, l. xvi, p. 197), it is an undoubted fact, that Crete was completely and finally subdued by Nicephorus Phocas (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii, p. 373 375, Meursius, Creta, l. iii, c. 7. tom. iii, p. 464, 465).

[x] A Greek life of St Nicon, the Armenian, was found in the Sforza library, and translated into Latin by the jesuit Sirmond for the use of cardinal Baronius. This contemporary legend casts a ray of light on Crete and Peloponnesus in the 10th century. He found the newly-recovered island, fœdis detestandæ Agarenorum superstitionis vestigiis adhuc plenum ac refertum . . . but the victorious missionary perhaps with some carnal aid, ad baptismum omnes vere aut ficte fidei disciplinam pepulit. Ecclesiis per totam insulam ædificatis, &c. (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 961).

CHAP. LII.

widow Theophania successively married Nicephorus Phocas, and his assassin John Zimisces, the two heroes of the age. They reigned as the guardians and colleagues of her infant sons; and the twelve years of their military command form the most splendid period of the Byzantine annals. The subjects and confederates, whom they led to war, appeared, at least in the eyes of an enemy, two hundred thousand strong; and of these about thirty thousand were armed with cuirasses:[y] a train of four thousand mules attended their march; and their evening camp was regularly fortified with an inclosure of iron spikes. A series of bloody and undecisive combats is nothing more than an anticipation of what would have been effected in a few years by the course of nature; but I shall briefly prosecute the conquests of the two emperors from the hills of Cappadocia to the desert of Bagdad. The sieges of Mopsuestia and Tarsus in Cilicia first exercised the skill and perseverance of their troops, on whom, at this moment, I shall not hesitate to bestow the name of Romans. In the double city of Mopsuestia, which is divided by the river Sarus, two hundred thousand Moslems were predestined to death or slavery,[z] a surprising degree of population, which must at least include the

Phocas and John Zimisces, A. D. 963-975.

Conquest of Cilicia.

[y] Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 278, 279. Liutprand was disposed to depreciate the Greek power, yet he owns that Nicephorus led against Assyria an army of eighty thousand men.

[z] Ducenta fere millia hominum numerabat urbs (Abulfeda. Annal. Moslem, p. 231), of Mopsuestia, or Masifa, Mampsysta, Mansista,

CHAP. LII.

inhabitants of the dependent districts. They were surrounded and taken by assault; but Tarsus was reduced by the slow progress of famine; and no sooner had the Saracens yielded on honourable terms, than they were mortified by the distant and unprofitable view of the naval succours of Egypt. They were dismissed with a safe conduct to the confines of Syria: a part of the old Christians had quietly lived under their dominion, and the vacant habitations were replenished by a new colony. But the mosch was converted into a stable; the pulpit was delivered to the flames; many rich crosses of gold and gems, the spoils of Asiatic churches, were made a grateful offering to the piety or avarice of the emperor; and he transported the gates of Mopsuestia and Tarsus, which were fixed in the wall of Constantinople, an eternal monument of his victory. After they had forced and secured the narrow passes of mount Amanus, the two Roman princes repeatedly carried their arms into the heart of Syria. Yet, instead of assaulting the walls of Antioch, the humanity or superstition of Nicephorus appeared to respect the ancient metropolis of the East: he contented himself with drawing round the city a line of circumvallation; left a stationary army; and instructed his lieutenant to expect, without impatience, the return of spring. But in the depth of winter, in

Invasion of Syria.

Mamista, as it is corruptly, or perhaps more correctly, styled in the middle ages (Wesseling, Itinerar. p. 580). Yet I cannot credit this extreme populousness a few years after the testimony of the emperor Leo, Η γαρ πολυπληθια στρατου της Κιλικιας βαρβαρους εχει (Tactica, c. xviii, in Meursii Oper. tom. vi, p. 817).

CHAP. LII.

a dark and rainy night, an adventurous subaltern, with three hundred soldiers, approached the rampart, applied his scaling ladders, occupied two adjacent towers, stood firm against the pressure of multitudes, and bravely maintained his post till he was relieved by the tardy, though effectual, support of his reluctant chief. The first tumult of slaughter and rapine subsided; the reign of Cæsar and of Christ was restored; and the efforts of an hundred thousand Saracens, of the armies of Syria and the fleets of Afric, were consumed without effect before the walls of Antioch. The royal city of Aleppo was subject to Seifeddowlat, of the dynasty of Hamadan, who clouded his past glory by the precipitate retreat which abandoned his kingdom and capital to the Roman invaders. In his stately palace, that stood without the walls of Aleppo, they joyfully seized a well-furnished magazine of arms, a stable of fourteen hundred mules, and three hundred bags of silver and gold. But the walls of the city withstood the strokes of their battering-rams; and the besiegers pitched their tents on the neighbouring mountain of Jaushan. Their retreat exasperated the quarrel of the townsmen and mercenaries; the guard of the gates and ramparts was deserted; and, while they furiously charged each other in the market-place, they were surprised and destroyed by the sword of a common enemy. The male sex was exterminated by the sword; ten thousand youths were led into captivity: the weight of the precious spoil exceeded the strength and number of the beasts of bur-

Recovery of Antioch.

then; the superfluous remainder was burnt; and, after a licentious possession of ten days, the Romans marched away from the naked and bleeding city. In their Syrian inroads, they commanded the husbandmen to cultivate their lands, that they themselves, in the ensuing season, might reap the benefit: more than an hundred cities were reduced to obedience; and eighteen pulpits of the principal moschs were committed to the flames, to expiate the sacrilege of the disciples of Mahomet. The classic names of Hierapolis, Apamea, and Emesa, revive for a moment in the list of conquest: the emperor Zimisces encamped in the paradise of Damascus, and accepted the ransom of a submissive people; and the torrent was only stopped by the impregnable fortress of Tripoli, on the sea-coast of Phœnicia. Since the days of Heraclius, the Euphrates, below the passage of mount Taurus, had been impervious, and almost invisible, to the Greeks. The river yielded a free passage to the victorious Zimisces: and the historian may imitate the speed with which he overran the once famous cities of Samosata, Edessa, Martyropolis, Amida,* and Nisibis, the ancient limit of the empire in the neighbourhood of the Tigris. His ardour was quickened by the desire of grasping the virgin treasures of

Passage of the Euphrates.

* The text of Leo the deacon, in the corrupt names of Eneta and Myctarsim, reveals the cities of Amida and Martyropoli (Asiatic. Min. See Abulfeda, Geograph. p. 215, vers. Koehler.) Of the former, Leo observes, urbs munita et illustris; of the latter, clara atque cum piscinis opibusque et pecore, reliquis ejus provinciis urbibus atque oppidis longe præstans.

CHAP. LII.

Ecbatana,[b] a well-known name, under which the Byzantine writer has concealed the capital of the Abbassides. The consternation of the fugitives had already diffused the terror of his name; but the fancied riches of Bagdad had already been dissipated by the avarice and prodigality of domestic tyrants. The prayers of the people, and the stern demands of the lieutenant of the Bowides, required the caliph to provide for the defence of the city. The helpless Mothi replied, that his arms, his revenues, and his provinces, had been torn from his hands, and that he was ready to abdicate a dignity which he was unable to support. The emir was inexorable; the furniture of the palace was sold; and the paltry price of forty thousand pieces of gold was instantly consumed in private luxury. But the apprehensions of Bagdad were relieved by the retreat of the Greeks: thirst and hunger guarded the desert of Mesopotamia; and the emperor, satiated with glory, and laden with oriental spoils, returned to Constantinople, and displayed, in his triumph, the silk, the aromatics, and three hundred myriads of gold and silver. Yet the powers of the East had been bent, not

Danger of Bagdad.

[b] Ut et Ecbatana pergeret Agarenorumque regiam everteret ..... aiunt enim urbium quæ usquam sunt ac toto orbe existunt felicissimam esse auroque ditissimam (Leo Diacon. apud Pagium, tom. iv, p. 34). This splendid description suits only with Bagdad, and cannot possibly apply either to Hamadan, the true Ecbatana (d'Anville, Geog. Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 297), or Tauris, which has commonly been mistaken for that city. The name of Ecbatana, in the same indefinite sense, is transferred by a more classic authority (Cicero pro Lege Manilia, c. 4), to the royal seat of Mithridates, king of Pontus.

broken, by this transient hurricane. After the departure of the Greeks, the fugitive princes returned to their capitals; the subjects disclaimed their involuntary oaths of allegiance; the moslems again purified their temples, and overturned the idols of the saints and martyrs; the Nestorians and Jacobites preferred a Saracen to an orthodox master; and the numbers and spirit of the Melchites were inadequate to the support of the church and state. Of these extensive conquests, Antioch, with the cities of Cilicia and the isle of Cyprus, was alone restored, a permanent and useful accession to the Roman empire.[c] CHAP. LII.

[c] See the Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda, from A. H. 351, to A. H. 361; and the reigns of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces, in the Chronicles of Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi, p. 199, l. xvii, 215), and Cedrenus (Compend. p. 649-684). Their manifold defects are partly supplied by the MS. history of Leo the deacon, which Pagi obtained from the Benedictines, and has inserted almost entire in a Latin version (Critica, tom. iii, p. 873, tom. iv, p. 37).

CHAP. LIII.

State of the eastern empire in the tenth century.—Extent and division.—Wealth and revenue.—Palace of Constantinople.—Titles and offices.—Pride and power of the emperors.—Tactics of the Greeks, Arabs, and Franks.—Loss of the Latin tongue.—Studies and solitude of the Greeks.

CHAP. LIII.

Memorial of the Greek empire.

A RAY of historic light seems to beam from the darkness of the tenth century. We open with curiosity and respect the royal volumes of Constantine Porphyrogenitus,[a] which he composed at a mature age for the instruction of his son, and which promise to unfold the state of the Eastern empire, both in peace and war, both at home and abroad. In the first of these works he minutely describes the pompous ceremonies of the church and palace of Constantinople, according to his own practice and that of his predecessors.[b] In the second, he attempts an accu-

Works of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

[a] The epithet of Πορφυρογέννητος, Porphyrogenitus, born in the purple, is elegantly defined by Claudian:

Ardua privatos nescit fortuna Penates;
Et regnum hunc luce dedit. Cognata potestas
Excepit Tyrio venerabile pignus in ostro.

And Ducange, in his Greek and Latin Glossaries, produces many passages expressive of the same idea.

[b] A splendid MS. of Constantine, de Cæremoniis Aulæ et Ecclesiæ Byzantinæ, wandered from Constantinople to Buda, Frankfort, and Leipsic, where it was published in a splendid edition by Leich and

rate survey of the provinces, the *themes*, as they were then denominated, both of Europe and Asia.[c] The system of Roman tactics, the discipline and order of the troops, and the military operations by land and sea, are explained in the third of these didactic collections, which may be ascribed to Constantine or his father Leo.[d] In the fourth, of the administration of the empire, he reveals the secrets of the Byzantine policy, in friendly or hostile intercourse with the nations of the earth. The literary labours of the age, the practical systems of laws, agriculture, and history, might redound to the benefit of the subject, and the honour of the Macedonian princes. The sixty books of the *Basilics*,[e] the code and pandects of civil jurisprudence, were

Reiske (A. D. 1751, in folio), with such lavish praise as editors never fail to bestow on the worthy or worthless object of their toil.

[c] See, in the first volume of Banduri's Imperium Orientale, Constantinius de Thematibus, p. 1-24 de Administrando Imperio, p. 45-127, edit. Venet. The text of the old edition of Meursius is corrected from a MS. of the royal library of Paris, which Isaac Casaubon had formerly seen (Epist. ad Polyhium, p. 10), and the sense is illustrated by two maps of William Desisle, the prince of geographers, till the appearance of the greater d'Anville.

[d] The tactics of Leo and Constantine are published with the aid of some new MSS. in the great edition of the works of Meursius, by the learned John Lami (tom. vi, p. 531-920, 1211-1417, Florent. 1745), yet the text is still corrupt and mutilated, the version is still obscure and faulty. The Imperial library of Vienna would afford some valuable materials to a new editor (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi, p. 369, 370).

[e] On the subject of the *Basilics*, Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. xii, p. 425-511), and Heineccius (Hist. Juris Romani, p. 396-399), and Giannone (Istoria Civile de Napoli, tom. i, p. 450-456), as historical civilians, may be usefully consulted. XLI books of this Greek code have been published with a Latin version, by Charles Annibal Fabrottus (Paris 1647), in seven tomes in folio; IV other books have

CHAP. LIII.

gradually framed in the three first reigns of that prosperous dynasty. The art of agriculture had amused the leisure, and exercised the pens, of the best and wisest of the ancients; and their chosen precepts are comprised in the twenty books of the *Geoponics*[f] of Constantine. At his command, the historical examples of vice and virtue were methodised in fifty-three books,[g] and every citizen might apply to his contemporaries or himself the lesson or the warning of past times. From the august character of a legislator, the sovereign of the East descends to the more humble office of a teacher and a scribe; and if his successors and subjects were regardless of his paternal cares, we may inherit and enjoy the everlasting legacy.

Their imperfections.

A closer survey will indeed reduce the value of the gift, and the gratitude of posterity: in the possession of these imperial treasures we may still deplore our poverty and ignorance; and the fading glories of their authors will be obliterated by in-

since been discovered, and are inserted in Gerard Meerman's Novus Thesaurus Juris Civ. et Canon. tom. v. Of the whole work, the sixty books, John Leunclavius has printed (Basil 1575), an *eclogue* or synopsis. The CXIII novels, or new laws, of Leo, may be found in the Corpus Juris Civilis.

[f] I have used the last and best edition of the Geoponics (by Nicolas Niclas, Lipsiæ, 1781, two vols. in octavo). I read in the preface, that the same emperor restored the long-forgotten systems of rhetoric and philosophy; and his two books of *Hippiatrica*, or Horse-physic, were published at Paris, 1530, in folio (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi, p. 493-500).

[g] Of these LIII books, or titles, only two have been preserved and printed, de Legationibus (by Fulvius Ursinus, Antwerp, 1582, and Daniel Hæschelius, August. Vindel. 1603), and de Virtutibus et Vitiis (by Henry Valesius, or de Valois, Paris, 1634).

difference or contempt. The Basilics will sink to a broken copy, a partial and mutilated version in the Greek language, of the laws of Justinian; but the sense of the old civilians is often superseded by the influence of bigotry; and the absolute prohibition of divorce, concubinage, and interest for money, enslaves the freedom of trade and the happiness of private life. In the historical book, a subject of Constantine might admire the inimitable virtues of Greece and Rome: he might learn to what a pitch of energy and elevation the human character had formerly aspired. But a contrary effect must have been produced by a new edition of the lives of the saints, which the great logothete, or chancellor of the empire, was directed to prepare; and the dark fund of superstition was enriched by the fabulous and florid legends of Simon the *Metaphrast*.[h] The merits and miracles of the whole calendar are of less account in the eyes of a sage, than the toil of a single husbandman, who multiplies the gifts of the Creator, and supplies the food of his brethren. Yet the royal authors of the *Geoponics* were more seriously employed in expounding the precepts of the destroying art, which has been taught since the days of Xenophon,[i] as the arts of heroes and kings. But the

[h] The life and writings of Simon Metaphrastes are described by Hankius (de Scriptoribus Byzant. p. 418-460). This biographer of the saints indulged himself in a loose paraphrase of the sense or nonsense of more ancient acts. His Greek rhetoric is again paraphrased in the Latin version of Surius, and scarcely a thread can be now visible of the original texture.

[i] According to the first book of the Cyropædia, professors of tactics, a small part of the science of war, were already instituted in Persia, by which Greece must be understood. A good edition of all the

CHAP. LIII.

Tactics of Leo and Constantine are mingled with the baser alloy of the age in which they lived. It was destitute of original genius; they implicitly transcribe the rules and maxims which had been confirmed by victories. It was unskilled in the propriety of style and method; they blindly confound the most distant and discordant institutions, the phalanx of Sparta and that of Macedon, the legions of Cato and Trajan, of Augustus and Theodosius. Even the use, or at least the importance, of these military rudiments may be fairly questioned: their general theory is dictated by reason; but the merit, as well as difficulty, consists in the application. The discipline of a soldier is formed by exercise rather than by study: the talents of a commander are appropriated to those calm, though rapid minds, which nature produces to decide the fate of armies and nations: the former is the habit of a life, the latter the glance of a moment; and the battles won by lessons of tactics may be numbered with the epic poems created from the rules of criticism. The book of ceremonies is a recital, tedious yet imperfect, of the despicable pageantry which had infected the church and state since the gradual decay of the purity of the one, and the power of the other. A review of the themes or provinces might promise such authentic and useful information, as the curiosity of government only can obtain, instead of traditionary fables on the origin of the

Scriptores Tactici would be a task not unworthy of a scholar. His industry might discover some new MSS. and his learning might illustrate the military history of the ancients. But this scholar should be likewise a soldier; and, alas! Quintus Icilius is no more.

cities, and malicious epigrams on the vices of their inhabitants.[k] Such information the historian would have been pleased to record; nor should his silence be condemned if the most interesting objects, the population of the capital and provinces, the amount of the taxes and revenues, the numbers of subjects and strangers who served under the imperial standard, have been unnoticed by Leo the philosopher, and his son Constantine. His treatise of the public administration is stained with the same blemishes; yet it is discriminated by peculiar merit: the antiquities of the nations may be doubtful or fabulous; but the geography and manners of the barbaric world are delineated with curious accuracy. Of these nations, the Franks alone were qualified to observe in their turn, and to describe, the metropolis of the East. The ambassador of the great Otho, a bishop of Cremona, has painted the state of Constantinople about the middle of the tenth century: his style is glowing, his narrative lively, his observation keen; and even the prejudices and passions of Liutprand are stamped with an original character of

CHAP. LIII.

Embassy of Liutprand.

[k] After observing that the demerit of the Cappadocians rose in proportion to their rank and riches, he inserts a more pointed epigram, which is ascribed to Demodocus:

Καππαδοκην ποτ' ἐχιδνα κακη δακεν, αλλα και αυτη
Καθθανε, γευσαμενη αἱματος ωδολυσ.

The sting is precisely the same with the French epigram against Freron: Un serpent mordit Jean Freron—Eh bien? Le serpent en mourut. But as the Paris wits are seldom read in the Anthology, I should be curious to learn through what channel it was conveyed for their imitation (Constantin. Porphyrogen. de Themat. c. ii. Brunk. Analect. Græc. tom. ii, p. 56. Brodæi Anthologia, l. ii, p. 244).

CHAP. LIII.

freedom and genius.[1] From this scanty fund of foreign and domestic materials I shall investigate the form and substance of the Byzantine empire; the provinces and wealth, the civil government and military force, the character and literature, of the Greeks in a period of six hundred years, from the reign of Heraclius to the successful invasion of the Franks or Latins.

The themes, or provinces of the empire, and its limits in every age.

After the final division between the sons of Theodosius, the swarms of barbarians from Scythia and Germany overspread the provinces, and extinguished the empire of ancient Rome. The weakness of Constantinople was concealed by extent of dominion: her limits were inviolate, or at least entire; and the kingdom of Justinian was enlarged by the splendid acquisition of Africa and Italy. But the possession of these new conquests was transient and precarious; and almost a moiety of the eastern empire was torn away by the arms of the Saracens. Syria and Egypt were oppressed by the Arabian caliphs; and, after the reduction of Africa, their lieutenants invaded and subdued the Roman province which had been changed into the Gothic monarchy of Spain. The islands of the Mediterranean were not inaccessible to their naval powers; and it was from their extreme stations, the harbours of Crete and the fortresses of Cilicia, that the faithful or rebel emirs insulted the majesty of the throne and capital. The remaining provinces, under the obedience of the emperors,

[1] The Legatio Liutprandi Episcopi Cremonensis ad Nicephorum Phocam, is inserted in Muratori, Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii, pars i.

were cast into a new mould; and the jurisdiction of the presidents, the consulars, and the counts, was superseded by the institution of the *themes*,[m] or military governments, which prevailed under the successors of Heraclius, and are described by the pen of the royal author. Of the twenty-nine themes, twelve in Europe and seventeen in Asia, the origin is obscure, the etymology doubtful or capricious: the limits were arbitrary and fluctuating; but some particular names, that sound the most strangely to our ear, were derived from the character and attributes of the troops that were maintained at the expence, and for the guard, of the respective divisions. The vanity of the Greek princes most eagerly grasped the shadow of conquest, and the memory of lost dominion. A new Mesopotamia was created on the western side of the Euphrates: the appellation and prætor of Sicily were transferred to a narrow slip of Calabria; and a fragment of the duchy of Beneventum was promoted to the style and title of the theme of Lombardy. In the decline of the Arabian empire, the successors of Constantine might indulge their pride in more solid advantages. The victories of Nicephorus, John Zimisces, and Basil the Second, revived the fame, and enlarged the boundaries of the Roman name: the province of Cilicia, the metropolis of Antioch, the islands of Crete and

[m] See Constantine de Thematibus, in Banduri, tom. i, p. 1-30, who owns, that the word is ἀπ' παλαια Θεμα is used by Maurice (Stratagem. l. ii, c. 2) for a legion, from whence the name was easily transferred to its post or province (Ducange, Glos. Græc. tom. i, p. 487, 488). Some etymologies are attempted for the Opsician, Optimician, Thracesian, themes.

CHAP. LIII.

Cyprus, were restored to the allegiance of Christ and Cæsar: one third of Italy was annexed to the throne of Constantinople: the kingdom of Bulgaria was destroyed; and the last sovereigns of the Macedonian dynasty extended their sway from the sources of the Tigris to the neighbourhood of Rome. In the eleventh century, the prospect was again clouded by new enemies and new misfortunes: the relics of Italy were swept away by the Norman adventurers; and almost all the Asiatic branches were dissevered from the Roman trunk by the Turkish conquerors. After these losses, the emperors of the Comnenian family continued to reign from the Danube to Peloponesus, and from Belgrade to Nice, Trebizond, and the winding stream of the Meander. The spacious provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, were obedient to their sceptre: the possession of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete, was accompanied by the fifty islands of the Ægean or Holy Sea,[n] and the remnant of their empire transcends the measure of the largest of the European kingdoms.

The same princes might assert with dignity and truth, that of all the monarchs of Christendom

[n] Αγιος πελαγος, as it is styled by the modern Greeks, from which the corrupt names of Archipelago, l'Archipel, and the Arches, have been transformed by geographers and seamen (d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. i, p. 281. Analyse de la Carte de la Grece, p. 60). The numbers of monks or caloyers in all the islands and the adjacent mountain of Athos (Observations de Belon, fol. 82, verso), monte santo, might justify the epithet of holy, αγιος, a slight alteration from the original αιγαιος, imposed by the Dorians, who, in their dialect, gave the figurative name of αιγες, or goats, to the bounding waves (Vossius, apud Cellarium, Geograph. Antiq. tom. i, p. 829).

CHAP. LIII.

they possessed the greatest city,* the most ample revenue, the most flourishing and populous state. With the decline and fall of the empire, the cities of the West had decayed and fallen; nor could the ruins of Rome, or the mud walls, wooden hovels, and narrow precincts, of Paris and London, prepare the Latin stranger to contemplate the situation and extent of Constantinople, her stately palaces and churches, and the arts and luxury of an innumerable people. Her treasures might attract, but her virgin strength had repelled, and still promised to repel, the audacious invasion of the Persian and Bulgarian, the Arab and the Russian. The provinces were less fortunate and impregnable; and few districts, few cities, could be discovered which had not been violated by some fierce barbarian, impatient to despoil, because he was hopeless to possess. From the age of Justinian the eastern empire was sinking below its former level; the powers of destruction were more active than those of improvement; and the calamities of war were embittered by the more permanent evils of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. The captive who had escaped from the barbarians was often stripped and imprisoned by the ministers of his sovereign; the Greek superstition relaxed the mind by prayer, and emaciated the body by fasting; and the multitude of convents and festivals diverted many hands and many days from the temporal service

General wealth and populousness.

*According to the Jewish traveller who had visited Europe and Asia, Constantinople was equalled only by Bagdad, the great city of the Ismaelites (Voyage de Benjamin de Tudele, par Baratier, tom. i, c. 5, p. 46).

CHAP. LIII.

of mankind. Yet the subjects of the Byzantine empire were still the most dexterous and diligent of nations; their country was blessed by nature with every advantage of soil, climate, and situation; and, in the support and restoration of the arts, their patient and peaceful temper was more useful than the warlike spirit and feudal anarchy of Europe. The provinces that still adhered to the empire were repeopled and enriched by the misfortunes of those which were irrecoverably lost. From the yoke of the caliphs, the catholics of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, retired to the allegiance of their prince, to the society of their brethren: the moveable wealth, which eludes the search of oppression, accompanied and alleviated their exile; and Constantinople received into her bosom the fugitive trade of Alexandria and Tyre. The chiefs of Armenia and Scythia, who fled from hostile or religious persecution, were hospitably entertained: their followers were encouraged to build new cities, and to cultivate waste lands; and many spots, both in Europe and Asia, preserved the name, the manners, or at least the memory, of these national colonies. Even the tribes of barbarians, who had seated themselves in arms on the territory of the empire, were gradually reclaimed to the laws of the church and state; and as long as they were separated from the Greeks, their posterity supplied a race of faithful and obedient soldiers. Did we possess sufficient materials to survey the twenty-nine themes of the Byzantine monarchy, our curiosity might be satisfied with a chosen example; it is fortunate enough that the clearest light

CHAP. LIII.

should be thrown on the most interesting province, and the name of Peloponesus will awaken the attention of the classic reader.

State of Peloponesus; Sclavonians.

As early as the eighth century, in the troubled reign of the Iconoclasts, Greece, and even Peloponesus,[9] were overrun by some Sclavonian bands who outstripped the royal standard of Bulgaria. The strangers of old, Cadmus, and Danaus, and Pelops, had planted in that fruitful soil the seeds of policy and learning; but the savages of the north eradicated what yet remained of their sickly and withered roots. In this eruption, the country and the inhabitants were transformed; the Grecian blood was contaminated; and the proudest nobles of Peloponesus were branded with the names of foreigners and *slaves*. By the diligence of succeeding princes, the land was in some measure purified from the barbarians; and the humble remnant was bound by an oath of obedience, tribute, and military service, which they often renewed, and often violated. The siege of Patras was formed by a singular concurrence of the Sclavonians of Peloponesus and the Saracens of Africa. In their last distress, a pious fiction of the approach of the prætor of Corinth, revived the courage of the citizens. Their sally was bold and successful; the stran-

9 Εςθλαβωθη δε πασα ἡ χωρα και γεγονε βαρβαρος, says Constantine (Thematibus, l. ii, c. 6, p. 25), in a style as barbarous as the idea, which he confirms, as usual, by a foolish epigram. The epitomizer of Strabo likewise observes, και την δε πασαν Ηπειρον, και Ελλαδα σχεδον και Μακεδονιαν, και Πελοποννησον Σκυθαι Σκλαβοι νεμονται (l. vii, p. 98, edit. Hudson): a passage which leads Dodwell a weary dance (Geograph. Minor. tom. ii, dissert. vi, p. 170-191), to enumerate the inroads of the Sclavi, and to fix the date (A. D. 980) of this petty geographer.

CHAP. LIII.

gers embarked, the rebels submitted, and the glory of the day was ascribed to a phantom, or a stranger, who fought in the foremost ranks under the character of St Andrew the apostle. The shrine which contained his relics was decorated with the trophies of victory, and the captive race was for ever devoted to the service and vassalage of the metropolitan church of Patras. By the revolt of two Sclavonian tribes in the neighbourhood of Helos and Lacedæmon, the peace of the peninsula was often disturbed. They sometimes insulted the weakness, and sometimes resisted the oppression, of the Byzantine government, till at length the approach of their hostile brethren extorted a golden bull to define the rights and obligations of the Ezzerites and Milengi, whose annual tribute was defined at twelve hundred pieces of gold. From these strangers the imperial geographer has accurately distinguished a domestic and perhaps original race, who, in some degree, might derive their blood from the much-injured helots. The liberality of the Romans, and especially of Augustus, had enfranchised the maritime cities from the dominion of Sparta; and the continuance of the same benefit ennobled them with the title of *Eleuthero*, or free Laconians.[q] In the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, they had acquired the name of *Mainotes*, under which they dishonour the claim of liberty by the inhuman pillage of all that is shipwrecked on their rocky shores. Their territory, barren of corn, but fruitful of olives, ex-

Freemen of Laconia.

[q] Strabon. Geograph. l. viii, p. 562. Pausanias, Græc. Descriptio. l. iii, c. 21, p. 264, 265. Plin. Hist. Natur. l. iv, c. 8.

tended to the cape of Malea: they accepted a chief or prince from the Byzantine prætor, and a light tribute of four hundred pieces of gold was the badge of their immunity rather than of their dependence. The freemen of Laconia assumed the character of Romans, and long adhered to the religion of the Greeks. By the zeal of the emperor Basil, they were baptized in the faith of Christ: but the altars of Venus and Neptune had been crowned by these rustic votaries five hundred years after they were proscribed in the Roman world. In the theme of Peloponesus,[r] forty cities were still numbered, and the declining state of Sparta, Argos, and Corinth, may be suspended in the tenth century, at an equal distance, perhaps, between their antique splendour and their present desolation. The duty of military service, either in person or by substitute, was imposed on the lands or benefices of the province: a sum of five pieces of gold was assessed on each of the substantial tenants; and the same capitation was shared among several heads of inferior value. On the proclamation of an Italian war, the Peloponesians excused themselves by a voluntary oblation of one hundred pounds of gold (four thousand pounds sterling), and a thousand horses with their arms and trappings. The churches and monasteries furnished their contingent; a sacrilegious profit was extorted from the sale of ecclesiastical honours; and the indigent bishop of Leucadia[s] was

Cities and revenue of Peloponesus.

[r] Constantin. de Administrando Imperio, l. ii, c. 50, 51, 52.

[s] The rock of Leucate was the southern promontory of his island and diocese. Had he been the exclusive guardian of the Lover's

CHAP. LIII.

made responsible for a pension of one hundred pieces of gold.[t]

Manufactures, especially of silk,

But the wealth of the province, and the trust of the revenue, were founded on the fair and plentiful produce of trade and manufactures; and some symptoms of liberal policy may be traced in a law which exempts from all personal taxes the mariners of Peloponesus, and the workmen in parchment and purple. This denomination may be fairly applied or extended to the manufactures of linen, woollen, and more especially of silk: the two former of which had flourished in Greece since the days of Homer; and the last was introduced perhaps as early as the reign of Justinian. These arts, which were exercised at Corinth, Thebes, and Argos, afforded food and occupation to a numerous people: the men, women, and children, were distributed according to their age and strength; and if many of these were domestic slaves, their masters, who directed the work and enjoyed the profit, were of a free and honourable condition. The gifts which a rich and generous matron of Peloponesus presented to the emperor Basil, her adopted son, were doubtless fabricated in the Grecian looms. Danielis bestowed a carpet of fine wool, of a pattern which imitated the spots of a peacock's tail, of a magnitude to overspread the floor of a new church, erected in the triple name

Leap, so well known to the readers of Ovid (Epist. Sappho) and the Spectator, he might have been the richest prelate of the Greek church.

[t] Leucatensis mihi juravit episcopus, quotannis ecclesiam suam debere Nicephoro aureos centum persolvere, similiter et ceteras plus minusve secundum vires suas (Liutprand in Legat. p. 489).

of Christ, of Michael the arch-angel, and of the prophet Elijah. She gave six hundred pieces of silk and linen, of various use and denomination: the silk was painted with the Tyrian dye, and adorned by the labours of the needle; and the linen was so exquisitely fine, that an entire piece might be rolled in the hollow of a cane.[u] In his description of the Greek manufactures, an historian of Sicily discriminates their price, according to the weight and quality of the silk, the closeness of the texture, the beauty of the colours, and the taste and materials of the embroidery. A single, or even a double or treble thread was thought sufficient for ordinary sale; but the union of six threads composed a piece of stronger and more costly workmanship. Among the colours, he celebrates, with affectation of eloquence, the fiery blaze of the scarlet, and the softer lustre of the green. The embroidery was raised either in silk or gold: the more simple ornament of stripes or circles was surpassed by the nicer imitation of flowers: the vestments that were fabricated for the palace or the altar often glittered with precious stones; and the figures were delineated in strings of oriental pearls.[x] Till the

CHAP. LIII.

[u] See Constantine (in Vit. Basil. c. 74, 75, 76, p. 195, 197, in Script. post Theophanem), who allows himself to use many technical or barbarous words: barbarous, says he, τη των πολλων αμαθια καλω γαρ επι τουτοις κοινολεκτειν. Ducange labours on some; but he was not a weaver.

[x] The manufactures of Palermo, as they are described by Hugo Falcandus (Hist. Sicula in proem. in Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. v, p. 256), is a copy of those of Greece. Without transcribing his declamatory sentences, which I have softened in the text, I shall observe, that in this passage, the strange word *exarentasmata*

CHAP. LIII.

twelfth century, Greece alone, of all the countries of Christendom, was possessed of the insect who is taught by nature, and of the workmen who are instructed by art, to prepare this elegant luxury. But the secret had been stolen by the dexterity and diligence of the Arabs: the caliphs of the East and West scorned to borrow from the unbelievers their furniture and apparel; and two cities of Spain, Almeria and Lisbon, were famous for the manufacture, the use, and perhaps the exportation, of silk. It was first introduced into Sicily by the Normans; and this emigration of trade distinguishes the victory of Roger from the uniform and fruitless hostilities of every age. After the sack of Corinth, Athens, and Thebes, his lieutenant embarked with a captive train of weavers and artificers of both sexes, a trophy glorious to their master, and disgraceful to the Greek emperor.[y] The king of Sicily was not insensible of the value of the present; and, in the restitution of the prisoners, he excepted only the male and female manufacturers of Thebes and Corinth, who labour, says the Byzantine historian, under a barbarous lord, like

transported from Greece to Italy.

is very properly changed for *exanthemata* by Carisius, the first editor. Falcandus lived about the year 1190.

[y] Inde ad interiora Græciæ progressi, Corinthium, Thebas, Athenas, antiquâ nobilitate celebres, expugnant; et maximâ ibidem prædâ direptâ, opifices etiam qui sericos pannos texere solent, ob ignominiam Imperatoris illius, suique principis gloriam, captivos deducunt. Quos Rogerius, in Palermo Siciliæ metropoli collocans, artem texendi suos edocere præcepit; et exhinc prædicta ars illa, prius à Græcis tantùm inter christianos habita, Romanis patere cœpit ingeniis (Otho Frisingen. de Gestis Frederici I, l. i, c. 33, in Muratori Script. Ital. tom. vi, p. 668). This exception allows the bishop to celebrate Lisbon and Almeria in sericorum pannorum opificio prænobilissimæ (in Chron. apud Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix, p. 415).

the old Eretrians in the service of Darius.[z] A stately edifice, in the palace of Palermo, was erected for the use of this industrious colony;[a] and the art was propagated by their children and disciples, to satisfy the increasing demand of the western world. The decay of the looms of Sicily may be ascribed to the troubles of the island, and the competition of the Italian cities. In the year thirteen hundred and fourteen, Lucca alone, among her sister republics, enjoyed the lucrative monopoly.[b] A domestic revolution dispersed the manufacturers to Florence, Bologna, Venice, Milan, and even the countries beyond the Alps; and thirteen years after this event, the statutes of Modena enjoin the planting of mulberry trees, and regulate the duties on raw silk.[c] The northern climates are less propitious to the education of the silk-worm; but the industry of France and England[d] is supplied and enriched by the productions of Italy and China.

CHAP. LIII.

[z] Nicetas in Manuel, l. ii, c. 8, p. 65. He describes these Greeks as skilled συντριβης οθονας ὑφαινειν, as ικαν προσανεχοντας των ἑξαμιτων και χρυσονηματων ϛολων.

[a] Hugo Falcanus styles them nobiles officinas. The Arabs had not introduced silk, though they had planted canes and made sugar in the plain of Palermo.

[b] See the Life of Castruccio Casticani, not by Machiavel, but by the more authentic biographer Nicholas Tegrimi. Muratori, who has inserted it in the ninth volume of his Scriptores, quotes this curious passage in his Italian Antiquities (tom. i, dissert. xxv, p. 378).

[c] From the MS. statutes, as they are quoted by Muratori in his Italian Antiquities (tom ii, dissert. xxx, p. 46-48).

[d] The broad silk manufacture was established in England in the year 1620 (Anderson's Chronological Deduction, vol. ii. p. 4); but it is to the revocation of the edict of Nantes that we owe the Spitalfields colony.

CHAP. LIII.

Revenue of the Greek empire.

I must repeat the complaint, that the vague and scanty memorials of the times will not afford any just estimate of the taxes, the revenue, and the resources of the Greek empire. From every province of Europe and Asia the rivulets of gold and silver discharged into the imperial reservoir a copious and perennial stream. The separation of the branches from the trunk increased the relative magnitude of Constantinople; and the maxims of despotism contracted the state to the capital, the capital to the palace, and the palace to the royal person. A Jewish traveller, who visited the East in the twelfth century, is lost in his admiration of the Byzantine riches. "It is here," says Benjamin of Tudela, "in the queen of cities, that the tributes of the "Greek empire are annually deposited, and the "lofty towers are filled with precious magazines "of silk, purple, and gold. It is said, that "Constantinople pays each day to her sovereign "twenty thousand pieces of gold; which are le-"vied on the shops, taverns, and markets, on the "merchants of Persia and Egypt, of Russia and "Hungary, of Italy and Spain, who frequent "the capital by sea and land."[g] In all pecuniary matters, the authority of a Jew is doubtless respectable; but as the three hundred and sixty-five days would produce a yearly income exceeding seven millions sterling, I am tempted to

[g] Voyage de Benjamin de Tudèle, tom. i, c. 5, p. 44-52. The Hebrew text has been translated into French by that marvellous child Baratier, who has added a volume of crude learning. The errors and fictions of the Jewish rabbi, are not a sufficient ground to deny the reality of his travels.

CHAP. LIII.

retrench at least the numerous festivals of the Greek calendar. The mass of treasure that was saved by Theodora and Basil the Second, will suggest a splendid, though indefinite, idea of their supplies and resources. The mother of Michael, before she retired to a cloister, attempted to check or expose the prodigality of her ungrateful son, by a free and faithful account of the wealth which he inherited; one hundred and nine thousand pounds of gold, and three hundred thousand of silver, the fruits of her own economy and that of her deceased husband.[f] The avarice of Basil is not less renowned than his valour and fortune: his victorious armies were paid and rewarded without breaking into the mass of two hundred thousand pounds of gold (about eight millions sterling), which he had buried in the subterraneous vaults of the palace.[g] Such accumulation of treasure is rejected by the theory and practice of modern policy; and we are more apt to compute the national riches by the use and abuse of the public credit. Yet the maxims of antiquity are still embraced by a monarch formidable to his enemies; by a republic respectable to her allies; and both have attained their respective ends, of military power and domestic tranquillity.

Pomp and luxury of the emperors.

Whatever might be consumed for the present wants, or reserved for the future use, of the state,

[f] See the Continuator of Theophanes (l. iv, p. 107), Cedrenus (p. 511), and Zonaras (tom. ii, l. xvi, p. 187).

[g] Zonaras (tom. ii, l. xvii, p. 225), instead of pounds, uses the more classic appellation of talents, which, in a literal sense and strict computation, would multiply six fold the treasure of Basil.

CHAP. LIII.

the first and most secret demand was for the pomp and pleasure of the emperor; and his discretion only could define the measure of his private expence. The princes of Constantinople were far removed from the simplicity of nature; yet, with the revolving seasons, they were led by taste or fashion to withdraw to a purer air, from the smoke and tumult of the capital. They enjoyed, or affected to enjoy, the rustic festival of the vintage; their leisure was amused by the exercise of the chace and the calmer occupation of fishing, and in the summer heats, they were shaded from the sun, and refreshed by the cooling breezes from the sea. The coasts and islands of Asia and Europe were covered with their magnificent villas; but, instead of the modest art which secretly strives to hide itself and to decorate the scenery of nature, the marble structure of their gardens served only to expose the riches of the lord, and the labours of the architect. The successive casualties of inheritance and forfeiture had rendered the sovereign proprietor of many stately houses in the city and suburbs, of which twelve were appropriated to the ministers of state; but the great palace,[b] the centre of the imperial residence, was fixed during eleven centuries to the same position, between the hippodrome, the cathedral of St Sophia, and the gardens, which descended by many a terrace

The palace of Constantinople.

[b] For a copious and minute description of the imperial palace, see the Constantinop. Christiana (l. ii, c. iv, p. 113-123) of Ducange, the Tillemont of the middle ages. Never has laborious Germany produced two antiquarians more laborious and accurate than these two natives of lively France.

CHAP. LIII.

to the shores of the Propontis. The primitive edifice of the first Constantine was a copy or rival of ancient Rome; the gradual improvements of his successors aspired to emulate the wonders of the old world,[i] and in the tenth century, the Byzantine palace excited the admiration, at least of the Latins, by an unquestionable pre-eminence of strength, size, and magnificence.[k] But the toil and treasure of so many ages had produced a vast and irregular pile: each separate building was marked with the character of the times and of the founder; and the want of space might excuse the reigning monarch who demolished, perhaps with secret satisfaction, the works of his predecessors. The economy of the emperor Theophilus allowed a more free and ample scope for his domestic luxury and splendour. A favourite ambassador, who had astonished the Abbassides themselves by his pride and liberality, presented on his return the model of a palace which the caliph of Bagdad had recently constructed on the banks of the Tigris. The model was instantly copied and surpassed: the new buildings of Theophilus[l] were accompanied with gardens,

[i] The Byzantine palace surpasses the Capitol, the palace of Pergamus, the Rufinian wood (φαιδρον αγαλμα), the temple of Adrian at Cyzicus, the Pyramids, the Pharus, &c. according to the epigram (Anthолog. Græc. l. iv, p. 408, 480. Brodæi, apud Wechel) ascribed to Julian, ex-prefect of Egypt. Seventy-one of his epigrams, some lively, are collected in Brunck (Analect. Græc. tom. ii, p. 495-510); but this is wanting.

[k] Constantinopolitanum Palatium non pulchritudine solum, verum etiam fortitudine, omnibus quas unquam videram munitionibus præstat (Liutprand, Hist. l. v, c. 9, p. 465).

[l] See the anonymous continuator of Theophanes (p. 59, 61, 86), whom I have followed in the neat and concise abstract of Le Beau (Hist. de Bas-Empire, tom. xiv, p. 436, 439).

CHAP. LIII.

and with five churches, one of which was conspicuous for size and beauty: it was crowned with three domes, the roof of gilt brass reposed on columns of Italian marble, and the walls were incrusted with marbles of various colours. In the face of the church, a semicircular portico, of the figure and name of the Greek *sigma*, was supported by fifteen columns of Phrygian marble, and the subterraneous vaults were of a similar construction. The square before the sigma was decorated with a fountain, and the margin of the bason was lined and encompassed with plates of silver. In the beginning of each season, the bason instead of water was replenished with the most exquisite fruits, which were abandoned to the populace for the entertainment of the prince. He enjoyed this tumultuous spectacle from a throne resplendent with gold and gems, which was raised by a marble stair-case to the height of a lofty terrace. Below the throne were seated the officers of his guards, the magistrates, the chiefs of the factions of the circus; the inferior steps were occupied by the people, and the place below was covered with troops of dancers, singers, and pantomimes. The square was surrounded by the hall of justice, the arsenal, and the various offices of business and pleasure; and the *purple* chamber was named from the annual distribution of robes of scarlet and purple by the hand of the empress herself. The long series of the apartments was adapted to the seasons, and decorated with marble and porphyry, with painting, sculpture, and mosaics, with a profusion of gold, sil-

CHAP. LIII

ver, and precious stones. His fanciful magnificence employed the skill and patience of such artists as the times could afford; but the taste of Athens would have despised their frivolous and costly labours; a golden tree with its leaves and branches, which sheltered a multitude of birds, warbling their artificial notes, and two lions of massy gold, and of the natural size, who looked and roared like their brethren of the forest. The successors of Theophilus, of the Basilian and Comnenian dynasties, were not less ambitious of leaving some memorial of their residence; and the portion of the palace most splendid and august, was dignified with the title of the golden *triclinium*.[m] With becoming modesty, the rich and noble Greeks aspired to imitate their sovereign; and when they passed through the streets on horseback, in their robes of silk and embroidery, they were mistaken by the children for kings.[n] A matron of Peloponesus,[o] who had cherished the infant fortunes of Basil the Macedonian, was excited by tenderness or vanity to visit the greatness of her adopted son. In a journey of five hundred miles, from Patras to Con-

Furniture and attendance.

[m] In aureo triclinio quæ præstantior est pars potentissimus (*the usurper Romanus*) degens cæteras partes (*filiis*) distribuerat (Liutprand. Hist. l. v, c. 9, p. 469). For this lax signification of triclinium (ædificium tria vel plura κλισια scilicet στεγη complectens), see Ducange (Gloss. Græc. et Observations sur Joinville, p. 240), and Reiske (ad Constantinum de Ceremoniis, p. 7).

[n] In equis vecti (says Benjamin of Tudela) regum filiis videntur persimiles. I prefer the Latin version of Constantine l'Empereur (p. 46), to the French of Baratier (tom. i, p. 49).

[o] See the account of her journey, munificence, and testament, in the Life of Basil, by his grandson Constantine (c. 74, 75, 76, p. 195-197).

CHAP. LIII.

stantinople, her age or indolence declined the fatigue of an horse or carriage: the soft litter or bed of Danielis was transported on the shoulders of ten robust slaves; and as they were relieved at easy distances, a band of three hundred was selected for the performance of this service. She was entertained in the Byzantine palace with filial reverence, and the honours of a queen; and whatever might be the origin of her wealth, her gifts were not unworthy of the regal dignity. I have already described the fine and curious manufactures of Peloponesus, of linen, silk, and woollen; but the most acceptable of her presents consisted in three hundred beautiful youths, of whom one hundred were eunuchs;[p] "for she "was not ignorant," says the historian, "that "the air of the palace is more congenial to such "insects than a shepherd's dairy to the flies of "the summer." During her lifetime, she bestowed the greater part of her estates in Peloponesus, and her testament instituted Leo, the son of Basil, her universal heir. After the payment of the legacies, fourscore villas or farms were added to the imperial domain; and three thousand slaves of Danielis were enfranchised by their new lord, and transplanted as a colony to the Italian coast. From this example of a private matron, we may estimate the wealth and magnificence of

[p] *Carsamatium* (καρξιμαδες, Ducange, Gloss.) Græci vocant, aruptatis virilibus et virgâ, puerum eunuchum quos Verdunenses mercatores ob immensum lucrum facere solent et in Hispaniam ducere (Liutprand, l. vi, c. 3, p. 470). The last abomination of the abominable slave-trade! Yet I am surprised to find in the tenth century, such active speculations of commerce in Lorraine.

the emperors. Yet our enjoyments are confined by a narrow circle; and, whatsoever may be its value, the luxury of life is possessed with more innocence and safety by the master of his own, than by the steward of the public, fortune.

Honours and titles of the imperial family.

In an absolute government, which levels the distinctions of noble and plebeian birth, the sovereign is the sole fountain of honour; and the rank, both in the palace and the empire, depends on the titles and offices which are bestowed and resumed by his arbitrary will. Above a thousand years, from Vespasian to Alexis Comnenus[q] the *Cæsar* was the second person, or at least the second degree, after the supreme title of *Augustus* was more freely communicated to the sons and brothers or the reigning monarch. To elude, without violating his promise to a powerful associate, the husband of his sister; and, without giving himself an equal, to reward the piety of his brother Isaac, the crafty Alexius interposed a new and supereminent dignity. The happy flexibility of the Greek tongue allowed him to compound the names of Augustus and emperor (sebastos and autocrator), and the union produced the sonorous title of *sebastocrator*. He was exalted above the Cæsar on the first step of the throne; the public acclamations repeated his

[q] See the Alexiad (l. iii, p. 78, 79) of Anna Comnena, who, except in filial piety, may be compared to Mademoiselle de Montpensier. In her awful reverence for titles and forms, she styles her father Εν κραμοναρχης, the inventor of this royal art, the τεχνη τεχνων, and επιστημων επιστημων.

CHAP. LIII.

name; and he was only distinguished from the sovereign by some peculiar ornament of the head and feet. The emperor alone could assume the purple or red buskins, and the close diadem or tiara, which imitated the fashion of the Persian kings.[r] It was an high pyramidal cap of cloth or silk, almost concealed by a profusion of pearls and jewels: the crown was formed by an horizontal circle and two arches of gold; at the summit, the point of their intersection, was placed a globe or cross, and two strings or lappets of pearl depended on either cheek. Instead of red, the buskins of the Sebastocrator and Cæsar were green; and on their *open* coronets or crowns, the precious gems were more sparingly distributed. Beside and below the Cæsar, the fancy of Alexis created the *pan-hypersebastos* and the *protosebastos*, whose sound and signification will satisfy a Grecian ear. They imply a superiority and a priority above the simple name of Augustus; and this sacred and primitive title of the Roman prince was degraded to the kinsmen and servants of the Byzantine court. The daughter of Alexius applauds, with fond complacency, this artful gradation of hopes and honours; but the science of words is accessible to the meanest capacity; and this vain dictionary was easily enriched by the pride of his successors. To their

[r] Στεμμα, στεφανος, διαδημα; see Reiske, ad Ceremoniale, p. 14, 15. Ducange has given a learned dissertation on the crowns of Constantinople, Rome, France, &c. (sur Joinville, xxv, p. 289-303); but of his thirty-four models, none exactly tally with Anne's description.

favourite sons or brothers, they imparted the more lofty appellation of lord or *despot*, which was illustrated with new ornaments and prerogatives, and placed immediately after the person of the emperor himself. The five titles of 1, *Despot*; 2, *Sebastocrator*; 3, *Cæsar*; 4, *Panhypersebastor*; and, 5, *Protosebastos*; were usually confined to the princes of his blood: they were the emanations of his majesty; but as they exercised no regular functions, their existence was useless and their authority precarious. CHAP. LIII.

But in every monarchy the substantial powers of government must be divided and exercised by the ministers of the palace and treasury, the fleet and army. The titles alone can differ; and in the revolution of ages, the counts and prefects, the prætor and quæstor, insensibly descended, while their servants rose above their heads to the first honours of the state. 1. In a monarchy, which refers every object to the person of the prince, the care and ceremonies of the palace form the most respectable department. The *curopalata*,* so illustrious in the age of Justinian, was supplanted by the *protovestiare*, whose primitive functions were limited to the custody of the wardrobe. From thence his jurisdiction was Officers of the palace, the state, and the army.

* Pars exstans curis, solo diademate dispar
Ordine pro rerum vocitatus *Cura Palati*;
says the African Corippus (de Laudibus Justini, l. i, 136); and in the same century (the sixth), Cassiodorus represents him, who, virga aurâ decoratus, inter numerosa obsequia primus ante pedes regis incederet (Variar. vii, 5). But this great officer, unknown, ἀπρόσωπος, exercising no function, τῷ δὲ ὀνόματι, was cast down by the modern Greeks to the fifteenth rank (Codin. c. 5, p. 65).

CHAP. LIII.

extended over the numerous menials of pomp and luxury; and he presided with his silver wand at the public and private audience. 2. In the ancient system of Constantine, the name of *logothete*, or accountant, was applied to the receivers of the finances: the principal officers were distinguished as the logothetes of the domain, of the posts, the army, the private and public treasure; and the *great logothete*, the supreme guardian of the laws and revenues, is compared with the chancellor of the Latin monarchies.[t] His discerning eye pervaded the civil administration; and he was assisted, in due subordination, by the eparch or prefect of the city, the first secretary, and the keepers of the privy seal, the archives, and the red or purple ink which was reserved for the sacred signature of the emperor alone.[u] The introductor and interpreter of foreign ambassadors were the great *chiaus*[x] and the *dragoman*,[y] two names of Turkish origin, and

[t] Nicetas (in Manuel. l. vii, c. i), defines him ως ὁ Λατινων φωνη Καγκελλαριον, ως δ'Ελληνες εἰποιεν Λογοθετην. Yet the epithet of μεγας was added by the elder Andronicus (Ducange, tom. i, p. 822, 823).

[u] From Leo I. (A. D. 470) the imperial ink, which is still visible on some original acts, was a mixture of vermillion and cinnabar, or purple. The emperor's guardians, who shared in this prerogative, always marked in green ink the indiction and the month. See the Dictionaire Diplomatique (tom. i, p. 511-513), a valuable abridgment.

[x] The sultan sent a Σιαυς to Alexius (Anna Comnena, l. vi, p. 170. Ducange ad loc.); and Pachymer often speaks of the μεγας τζαυς (l. vii, c. 1, l. xii, c. 30, l. xiii, c. 22). The Chiaoush dasha is now at the head of 700 officers (Rycaut's Ottoman Empire, p. 349, 8vo. edition).

[y] *Tugerman* is the Arabic name of an interpreter (d'Herbelot, p. 854, 855), πρωτος των ερμηνευων ὁς κοινως ονομαζουσι Δραγομανους, says Codinus (c. v, No. 70, p. 67). See Villehardouin (No. 96). Busbequius (Epist. iv, p. 338), and Ducange (Observations sur Villehardouin, and Gloss. Græc. et Latin).

which are still familiar to the sublime Porte. 3. From the humble style and service of guards, the *domestics* insensibly rose to the station of generals; the military themes of the East and West, the legions of Europe and Asia, were often divided, till the *great domestic* was finally invested with the universal and absolute command of the land forces. The *protostrator*, in his original functions, was the assistant of the emperor when he mounted on horseback; he gradually became the lieutenant of the great domestic in the field; and his jurisdiction extended over the stables, the cavalry, and the royal train of hunting and hawking. The *stratopedarch* was the great judge of the camp; the *protospathaire* commanded the guards; the *constable*,[z] the *great æteriarch*, and the *acolyth*, were the separate chiefs of the Franks, the barbarians, and the Varangi, or English, the mercenary strangers, who, in the decay of the national spirit, formed the nerve of the Byzantine armies. 4. The naval powers were under the command of the *great duke*; in his absence they obeyed the *great drungaire* of the fleet; and, in *his* place the *emir* or *admiral*, a name of Saracen extraction,[a] but which has been naturalized in all the modern languages of Europe. Of these officers, and of many more whom it would be useless to enumerate, the civil

[z] Κονοσταυλος, or κομητοσταυλος, a corruption from the Latin Comes stabuli, or the French Connêtable. In a military sense, it was used by the Greeks in the eleventh century, at least as early as in France.

[a] It was directly borrowed from the Normans. In the twelfth century, Giannone reckons the admiral of Sicily among the great offi-

CHAP. LIII.

and military hierarchy was framed. Their honours and emoluments, their dress and titles, their mutual salutations and respective pre-eminence, were balanced with more exquisite labour than would have fixed the constitution of a free people; and the code was almost perfect when this baseless fabric, the monument of pride and servitude, was for ever buried in the ruins of the empire.[b]

Adoration of the emperor.

The most lofty titles, and the most humble postures, which devotion has applied to the Supreme Being, have been prostituted by flattery and fear to creatures of the same nature with ourselves. The mode of *adoration*,[c] of falling prostrate on the ground, and kissing the feet of the emperor, was borrowed by Diocletian from Persian servitude; but it was continued and aggravated till the last age of the Greek monarchy. Excepting only on Sundays, when it was waved, from a motive of religious pride, this humiliating reverence was exacted from all who entered the royal presence, from the princes invested with the diadem and purple, and from the ambassadors who represented their independent sovereigns, the caliphs of Asia, Egypt, or Spain, the kings of France and Italy, and the Latin emperors of ancient Rome. In his transactions

[b] This sketch of honours and offices is drawn from George Codinus Curopalata, who survived the taking of Constantinople by the Turks; his elaborate though trifling work (de officiis Ecclesiæ et Aulæ c. P.) has been illustrated by the notes of Goar, and the three books of Ducange, a learned jesuit.

[c] The respectful salutation of carrying the hand to the mouth, *ad os*, is the root of the Latin word, *adoro adorare*. See our learned Selden (vol. iii, p. 143-145, 942), in his Titles of Honour. It seems, from the first books of Herodotus, to be of Persian origin.

CHAP. LIII.

of business, Liutprand, bishop of Cremona,[a] asserted the free spirit of a Frank and the dignity of his master Otho. Yet his sincerity cannot disguise the abasement of his first audience. When he approached the throne, the birds of the golden tree began to warble their notes, which were accompanied by the roarings of the two lions of gold. With his two companions, Liutprand was compelled to bow and to fall prostrate; and thrice he touched the ground with his forehead. He arose, but in the short interval, the throne had been hoisted by an engine from the floor to the cieling, the imperial figure appeared in new and more gorgeous apparel, and the interview was concluded in haughty and majestic silence. In this honest and curious narrative the bishop of Cremona represents the ceremonies of the Byzantine court, which are still practised in the sublime Porte, and which were preserved in the last age by the dukes of Muscovy or Russia. After a long journey by the sea and land, from Venice to Constantinople, the ambassador halted at the golden gate, till he was conducted by the formal officers to the hospitable palace prepared for his reception; but this palace was a prison, and his jealous keepers prohibited all social intercourse either with strangers or natives. At his first audience, he offered the gifts of his master, slaves, and golden vases, and costly armour. The ostentatious payment of the officers and troops displayed before

Reception of ambassadors.

[a] The two embassies of Liutprand to Constantinople, all that he saw or suffered in the Greek capital, are pleasantly described by himself (Hist. l. vi, c. 1-4, p. 169-171. Legatio ad Nicephorum Phocam, p. 479-489).

LIBRARY

CHAP. LIII.

his eyes the riches of the empire: he was entertained at a royal banquet,[e] in which the ambassadors of the nations were marshalled by the esteem or contempt of the Greeks: from his own table, the emperor, as the most signal favour, sent the plates which he had tasted; and his favourites were dismissed with a robe of honour.[f] In the morning and evening of each day, his civil and military servants attended their duty in the palace; their labour was repaid by the sight, perhaps by the smile, of their lord; his commands were signified by a nod or a sign; but all earthly greatness *stood* silent and submissive in his presence. In his regular or extraordinary processions through the capital, he unveiled his person to the public view: the rites of policy were connected with those of religion, and his visits to the principal churches were regulated by the festivals of the Greek calendar. On the eve of these processions, the gracious or devout intention of the monarch was proclaimed by the heralds. The streets were cleared and purified; the pavement was strewed with flowers; the most precious furniture, the gold and silver plate, and silken hangings, were displayed from the windows and balconies, and a severe discipline restrained and silenced the tumult of

Processions and acclamations.

[e] Among the amusements of the feast, a boy balanced, on his forehead, a pike, or pole, twenty-four feet long, with a cross bar of two cubits a little below the top. Two boys, naked, though cinctured (*compesti*) together, and singly, climbed, stood, played, descended, &c. ita me stupidum reddidit: utrum mirabilius nescio (p. 470). At another repast an homily of Chrysostom on the Acts of the Apostles was read clara voce non Latine (p. 483).

[f] *Gala* is not improbably derived from Cala, or Caloat, in Arabic, a robe of honour (Reiske, Not. in Ceremon. p. 84).

the populace. The march was opened by the military officers at the head of their troops: they were followed in long order by the magistrates and ministers of the civil government: the person of the emperor was guarded by his eunuchs and domestics, and at the church door he was solemnly received by the patriarch and his clergy. The task of applause was not abandoned to the rude and spontaneous voices of the crowd. The most convenient stations were occupied by the bands of the blue and green factions of the circus; and their furious conflicts, which had shaken the capital, were insensibly sunk to an emulation of servitude. From either side they echoed in responsive melody the praises of the emperor; their poets and musicians directed the choir, and long life[g] and victory were the burden of every song. The same acclamations were performed at the audience, the banquet, and the church; and as an evidence of boundless sway, they were repeated in the Latin,[h] Gothic, Persian, French, and even English language,[i] by the mercenaries who sustained the real or fictitious character of those nations. By the pen of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, this science of form and flattery has been reduced

CHAP. LIII.

[g] Πολυχρονιζω is explained by ευφημιζειν (Codin. c. 7, Ducange, Gloss. Græc. tom. i, p. 1199).

[h] Καισαρι, ζητ Δεις Ιμπεριορα βικτρια—βικτις σις σεμπερ—βηβ, τε Δομιν ημστι κτοις τν μιλτος αγιος (Ceremon. c. 75, p. 215). The want of the Latin v, obliged the Greeks to employ the β; for they regard quantity. Till he recollected the true Latin, the strange sentence might puzzle a professor.

[i] Βικτορι κα ε την πατριαν γλωσσην και [illegible] χρονιζουσι (Codin. p. 90). I wish he had preserved, however corrupt, their English acclamation.

CHAP. LIII.

into a pompous and trifling volume,[k] which the vanity of succeeding times might enrich with an ample supplement. Yet the calmer reflection of a prince would surely suggest, that the same acclamations were applied to every character and every reign; and if he had risen from a private rank, he might remember, that his own voice had been the loudest and most eager in applause, at the very moment when he envied the fortune, or conspired against the life, of his predecessor.[l]

Marriage of the Cæsars with foreign nations.

The princes of the north of the nations, says Constantine, without faith or fame, were ambitious of mingling their blood with the blood of the Cæsars, by their marriage with a royal virgin, or by the nuptials of their daughters with a Roman prince.[m] The aged monarch, in his instructions to his son, reveals the secret maxims of policy and pride, and suggests the most decent reasons for refusing these insolent and unreasonable demands. Every animal, says the discreet emperor, is prompted by nature to seek a mate among the animals of his own species; and the human species is divided into various tribes, by

[k] For all these ceremonies, see the professed work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, with the notes, or rather dissertations, of his German editors, Leich and Reiske. For the rank of the *standing* courtiers, p. 30, not. 23, 62; for the adoration, except on Sundays, p. 95, 210, not. 181; the processions, p. 2, &c. not. p. 3, &c.; the acclamations, passim, not. 25, &c.; the factions and hippodrome, p. 177-214, not. 90, 93, &c.; the Gothic games, p. 221, not. 111; vintage, p. 217, not. 109: much more information is scattered over the work.

[l] Et privato Othoni et nuper eadem dicenti nota adulatio (Tacit. Hist. 1. 85).

[m] The thirteenth chapter, de Administratione Imperii, may be explained and rectified by the Familiæ Byzantinæ of Ducange.

the distinction of language, religion, and manners. A just regard to the purity of descent preserves the harmony of public and private life; but the mixture of foreign blood is the fruitful source of disorder and discord. Such had ever been the opinion and practice of the sage Romans: their jurisprudence proscribed the marriage of a citizen and a stranger: in the days of freedom and virtue, a senator would have scorned to match his daughter with a king: the glory of Mark Antony was sullied by an Egyptian wife;[n] and the emperor Titus was compelled, by popular censure, to dismiss with reluctance the reluctant Berenice.[o] This perpetual interdict was ratified by the fabulous sanction of the great Constantine. The ambassadors of the nations, more especially of the unbelieving nations, were solemnly admonished, that such strange alliances had been condemned by the founder of the church and city. The irrevocable law was inscribed on the altar of St Sophia; and the impious prince who should sustain the majesty of the purple was excluded from the civil and ecclesiastical communion of the Romans. If the ambassadors were instructed by any false bre-

CHAP. LIII.

Imaginary law of Constantine.

[n] Sequiturque nefas Ægyptia conjunx (Virgil, Æneid viii, 688). Yet this Egyptian wife was the daughter of a long line of kings. Quid te mutavit (says Antony in a private letter to Augustus) an quod reginam ineo? Uxor mea est (Sueton. in August. c. 69). Yet I much question (for I cannot stay to enquire), whether the triumvir ever dared to celebrate his marriage either with Roman or Egyptian rites.

[o] Berenicem invitus invitam dimisit (Suetonius in Tito, c. 7) Have I observed elsewhere, that this Jewish beauty was at this time above fifty years of age? The judicious Racine has most discreetly suppressed both her age and her country.

CHAP. LIII.

threu in the Byzantine history, they might produce three memorable examples of the violation of this imaginary law: the marriage of Leo, or rather of his father Constantine the Fourth, with the daughter of the king of Chozars, the nuptials of the grand-daughter of Romanus with a Bulgarian prince, and the union of Bertha of France or Italy with young Romanus, the son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself. To these objections three answers were prepared, which solved the difficulty and established the law. I. The deed and the guilt of Constantine Copronymus were acknowledged. The Isaurian heretic, who sullied the baptismal font, and declared war against the holy images, had indeed embraced a barbarian wife. By this impious alliance he accomplished the measure of his crimes, and was devoted to the just censure of the church and of posterity. II. Romanus could not be alleged as a legitimate emperor; he was a plebeian usurper, ignorant of the laws, and regardless of the honour, of the monarchy. His son Christopher, the father of the bride, was the third in rank in the college of princes, at once the subject and the accomplice of a rebellious parent. The Bulgarians were sincere and devout Christians; and the safety of the empire, with the redemption of many thousand captives, depended on this preposterous alliance. Yet no consideration could dispense from the law of Constantine: the clergy, the senate, and the people, disapproved the conduct of Romanus; and he was reproached, both in his life and death, as the author of the public disgrace. III. For the marriage of his

The first exception, A. D. 733.

The second, A. D. 941.

The third, A. D. 943.

own son with the daughter of Hugo, king of Italy, a more honourable defence is contrived by the wise Porphyrogenitus. Constantine, the great and holy, esteemed the fidelity and value of the Franks;[p] and his prophetic spirit beheld the vision of their future greatness. They alone were excepted from the general prohibition: Hugo, king of France, was the lineal descendant of Charlemagne;[q] and his daughter Bertha inherited the prerogatives of her family and nation. The voice of truth and malice insensibly betrayed the fraud or error of the imperial court. The patrimonial estate of Hugo was reduced from the monarchy of France to the simple county of Arles; though it was not denied, that in the confusion of the times, he had usurped the sovereignty of Provence, and invaded the kingdom of Italy. His father was a private noble; and if Bertha derived her female descent from the Carlovingian line, every step was polluted with illegitimacy or vice. The grandmother of Hugo was the famous Valdrada, the concubine, rather than the wife, of the second Lothair; whose adultery, divorce, and second nuptials, had provoked against him the thunders of the Vatican. His mother, as she was styled, the great Bertha, was successively the wife of the count of Arles and of the marquis of Tuscany: France and Italy

CHAP. LIII.

[p] Constantine was made to praise the ευγενια and μεγαλανια of the Franks, with whom he claimed a private and public alliance. The French writers (Isaac Casaubon in Dedicat. Polybii) are highly delighted with these compliments.

[q] Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Administrat. Imp. c. 26) exhibits a pedigree and life of the illustrious king Hugo (απο βασιλεως εως ουγωνος). A more correct idea may be formed from the Criticism of Pagi, the Annals of Muratori, and the Abridgement of St Marc, A. D. 925-946.

CHAP. LIII.

were scandalized by her gallantries; and, till the age of threescore, her lovers, of every degree, were the zealous servants of her ambition. The example of maternal incontinence was copied by the king of Italy; and the three favourite concubines of Hugo were decorated with the classic names of Venus, Juno, and Semele.[r] The daughter of Venus was granted to the solicitations of the Byzantine court: her name of Bertha was changed to that of Eudoxia; and she was wedded, or rather betrothed, to young Romanus, the future heir of the empire of the East. The consummation of this foreign alliance was suspended by the tender age of the two parties; and, at the end of five years, the union was dissolved by the death of the virgin spouse. The second wife of the emperor Romanus was a maiden of plebeian, but of Roman, birth; and their two daughters, Theophano and Anne, were given in marriage to the princes of the earth. The eldest was bestowed, as the pledge of peace, on the eldest son of the great Otho, who had solicited this alliance with arms and embassies. It might legally be questioned how far a Saxon was entitled to the privilege of the French nation; but every scruple was silenced by the fame and piety of a hero who had restored the empire of the West. After the death of her father-in-law and husband, Theophano governed Rome, Italy, and Germany, du-

Otho of Germany, A. D. 972.

[r] After the mention of the three goddesses, Liutprand very naturally adds, et quoniam non rex solus iis abutebatur, earum nati ex incertis patribus originem ducunt (Hist. l. iv, c. 6): for the marriage of the younger Bertha, see Hist. l. v, c. 5; for the incontinence of the elder, dulcis exercitio Hymenæi, l. ii, c, 15; for the virtues and vices of Hugo, l. iii, c. 5. Yet it must not be forgot that the bishop of Cremona was a lover of scandal.

ring the minority of her son, the third Otho; and the Latins have praised the virtues of an empress, who sacrificed to a superior duty the remembrance of her country.[s] In the nuptials of her sister Anne, every prejudice was lost, and every consideration of dignity was superseded, by the stronger argument of necessity and fear. A pagan of the north, Wolodomir, great prince of Russia, aspired to a daughter of the Roman purple; and his claim was enforced by the threats of war, the promise of conversion, and the offer of a powerful succour against a domestic rebel. A victim of her religion and country, the Grecian princess was torn from the palace of her fathers, and condemned to a savage reign and an hopeless exile on the banks of the Borysthenes, or in the neighbourhood of the polar circle.[t] Yet the marriage of Anne was fortunate and fruitful: the daughter of her grandson Jeroslaus was recommended by her imperial descent; and the king of France, Henry I. sought a wife on the last borders of Europe and Christendom.[u]

Wolodomir of Russia, A. D. 988.

[s] Licet illa Imperatrix Græca sibi et aliis fuisset satis utilis et optima, &c. is the preamble of an inimical writer, apud Pagi, tom. iv, A. D. 989, No. 3. Her marriage and principal actions may be found in Muratori, Pagi, and St Marc, under the proper years.

[t] Cedrenus, tom. ii, p. 699, Zonaras, tom. ii, p. 221. Elmacin, Hist. Saracenica, l. iii, c. 6. Nestor apud Levesque, tom. ii, p. 112. Pagi, Critica, A. D. 987, No. 6. a singular concourse! Wolodomir and Anne are ranked among the saints of the Russian church. Yet we know his vices, and are ignorant of her virtues.

[u] Henricus primus duxit uxorem Scythicam, Russam, filiam regis Jeroslai. An embassy of bishops was sent into Russia, and the father gratanter filiam cum multis donis misit. This event happened in the year 1051. See the passages of the original chronicles in Bouquet's Historians of France, (tom. xi, p. 29, 159, 161, 319, 304,

CHAP. LIII.

Despotic power.

In the Byzantine palace the emperor was the first slave of the ceremonies which he imposed, of the rigid forms which regulated each word and gesture, besieged him in the palace, and violated the leisure of his rural solitude. But the lives and fortunes of millions hung on his arbitrary will, and the firmest minds, superior to the allurements of pomp and luxury, may be seduced by the more active pleasure of commanding their equals. The legislative and executive power were centered in the person of the monarch, and the last remains of the authority of the senate were finally eradicated by Leo the philosopher.[x] A lethargy of servitude had benumbed the minds of the Greeks: in the wildest tumults of rebellion they never aspired to the idea of a free constitution; and the private character of the prince was the only source and measure of their public happiness. Superstition rivetted their chains; in the church of St Sophia he was solemnly crowned by the patriarch; at the foot of the altar, they pledged their passive and unconditional obedience to his government and family. On his side he engaged to abstain as much as possible from the capital punishments of death and mutilation; his orthodox creed was subscribed with his own hand, and he promised to obey the decrees of the seven synods, and the

Coronation oath.

481). Voltaire might wonder at this alliance; but he should not have owned his ignorance of the country, religion, &c. of Jeroslaus —a name so conspicuous in the Russian annals.

[x] A constitution of Leo the philosopher (lxxviii) ne senatusconsulta amplius fiant, speaks the language of naked despotism, ἐξ ὧ τὸ μοναρχικὸν κράτος τὴν τύχην αὐτῆς διοικήσειν, καὶ ἀκαίρου καὶ ματαίου τὸ ἀρχῆς μετὰ τῶν χρείαν παρεχομένων συναπτίσθαι.

canons of the holy church.[7] But the assurance of mercy was loose and indefinite; he swore, not to his people, but to an invisible judge, and except in the inexpiable guilt of heresy, the ministers of heaven were always prepared to preach the indefeasible right, and to absolve the venial transgressions, of their sovereign. The Greek ecclesiastics were themselves the subjects of the civil magistrate; at the nod of a tyrant the bishops were created, or transferred, or deposed, or punished with an ignominious death: whatever might be their wealth or influence, they could never succeed like the Latin clergy in the establishment of an independent republic; and the patriarch of Constantinople condemned, what he secretly envied, the temporal greatness of his Roman brother. Yet the exercise of boundless despotism is happily checked by the laws of nature and necessity. In proportion to his wisdom and virtue, the master of an empire is confined to the path of his sacred and laborious duty. In proportion to his vice and folly, he drops the sceptre too weighty for his hands; and the motions of the royal image are ruled by the imperceptible thread of some minister or favourite, who undertakes for his private interest to exercise the task of the public oppression. In some fatal moment, the most absolute monarch may dread the reason or the caprice of a nation of slaves; and experience has proved, that what-

CHAP. LIII.

[7] Codinus (de Officiis, c. xvii, p. 120, 121), gives an idea of this oath so strong to the church πιστὸς καὶ γνήσιος δοῦλος καὶ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησίας, so weak to the people καὶ ἀντιποιήσασθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦτο καὶ ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον.

CHAP. LIII.

ever is gained in the extent, is lost in the safety and solidity of regal power.

Military force of the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks.

Whatever titles a despot may assume, whatever claims he may assert, it is on the sword that he must ultimately depend to guard him against his foreign and domestic enemies. From the age of Charlemagne to that of the crusades, the world (for I overlook the remote monarchy of China) was occupied and disputed by the three great empires or nations of the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks. Their military strength may be ascertained by a comparison of their courage, their arts and riches, and their obedience to a supreme head, who might call into action all the energies of the state. The Greeks, far inferior to their rivals in the first, were superior to the Franks, and at least equal to the Saracens, in the second and third of these warlike qualifications.

Navy of the Greeks.

The wealth of the Greeks enabled them to purchase the service of the poorer nations, and to maintain a naval power for the protection of their coasts and the annoyance of their enemies.* A commerce of mutual benefit exchanged the gold of Constantinople for the blood of the Sclavonians and Turks, the Bulgarians and Russians; their valour contributed to the victories of Nice-

* If we listen to the threats of Nicephorus to the ambassador of Otho, Nec est in mari domino tuo classium numerus. Navigantium fortitudo mihi soli inest, qui cum classibus aggrediar, bello maritimas ejus civitates demoliar; et quæ fluminibus sunt vicina redigam in favillam. (Liutprand in Legat. ad Nicephorum Phocam, in Muratori Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii, pars i, p. 481). He observes in another place, qui cæteris præstant Venetici sunt et Amalphitani.

phorus and Zimisces; and if an hostile people pressed too closely on the frontier, they were recalled to the defence of their country, and the desire of peace, by the well-managed attack of a more distant tribe.[a] The command of the Mediterranean from the mouth of the Tanais to the columns of Hercules, was always claimed, and often possessed, by the successors of Constantine. Their capital was filled with naval stores and dexterous artificers; the situation of Greece and Asia, the long coasts, deep gulphs, and numerous islands, accustomed their subjects to the exercise of navigation; and the trade of Venice and Amalfi supplied a nursery of seamen to the imperial fleet.[b] Since the time of the Peloponesian and Punic wars, the sphere of action had not been enlarged; and the science of naval architecture appears to have declined. The art of constructing those stupendous machines which displayed three, or six, or ten, ranges of oars, rising above, or falling behind, each other, was unknown to the ship-builders of Constantinople, as well as to the mechanicians of modern days.[c]

[a] Nec ipsa capiet cum (the emperor Otho) in quâ ortus est pauper et pellicea Saxonia: pecuniâ quâ pollemus omnes nationes super eum invitabimus: et quasi Keramicum confringemus (Liutprand in Legat. p. 487). The two books, de administrando imperio, perpetually inculcate the same policy.

[b] The xixth chapter of the Tactics of Leo (Meurs. Opera, tom. vi, p. 825-848), which is given more correct from a manuscript of Gudius, by the laborious Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi, p. 372-379), relates to the *Naumachia* or naval war.

[c] Even of fifteen or sixteen rows of oars, in the Navy of Demetrius Poliorcetes. These were for real use: the forty rows of Ptolemy Philadelphus were applied to a floating palace, whose tonnage, ac-

CHAP. LIII.

The *Dromones*,[4] or light gallies of the Byzantine empire were content with two tiers of oars; each tier was composed of five-and-twenty benches; and two rowers were seated on each bench, who plyed their oars on either side of the vessel. To these we must add the captain or centurion, who, in time of action, stood erect with his armour-bearer on the poop, two steersmen at the helm, and two officers at the prow, the one to manage the anchor, the other to point and play against the enemy the tube of liquid fire. The whole crew, as in the infancy of the art, performed the double service of mariners and soldiers; they were provided with defensive and offensive arms, with bows and arrows, which they used from the upper deck, with long pikes, which they pushed through the port-holes of the lower tier. Sometimes indeed the ships of war were of a larger and more solid construction; and the labours of combat and navigation were more regularly divided between seventy soldiers and two hundred and thirty mariners. But for the most part they were of the light and manageable size; and as the cape of Malea in Peloponesus was still clothed with its ancient terrors, an imperial fleet was transported five miles over land across the isthmus of Co-

cording to Dr Arbuthnot (Tables of ancient Coins, &c. p. 231-236), is compared as 4½ to one, with an English 100 gun-ship.

[4] The Dromones of Leo, &c. are so clearly described with two tier of oars, that I must censure the version of Meursius and Fabricius, who pervert the sense by a blind attachment to the classic appellation of *Triremes*. The Byzantine historians are sometimes guilty of the same inaccuracy.

rinth.[e] The principles of maritime tactics had not undergone any change since the time of Thucydides; a squadron of gallies still advanced in a crescent, charged to the front, and strove to impel their sharp beaks against the feeble sides of their antagonists. A machine for casting stones and darts was built of strong timbers in the midst of the deck; and the operation of boarding was effected by a crane that hoisted baskets of armed men. The language of signals, so clear and copious in the naval grammar of the moderns, was imperfectly expressed by the various positions and colours of a commanding flag. In the darkness of the night the same orders to chase, to attack, to halt, to retreat, to break, to form, were conveyed by the lights of the leading galley. By land, the fire-signals were repeated from one mountain to another; a chain of eight stations commanded a space of five hundred miles; and Constantinople in a few hours was apprized of the hostile motions of the Saracens of Tarsus.[f] Some estimate may be formed of the power of the Greek emperors, by the curious and minute

CHAP. LIII.

[e] Constantin. Porphyrogen. in Vit. Basil. c. lxi, p. 185. He calmly praises the stratagem as a βαλην συνετην και σοφην; but the sailing round Peloponesus is described by his terrified fancy as a circumnavigation of a thousand miles.

[f] The continuator of Theophanes (l. iv, p. 122, 123) names the successive stations, the castle of Lulum near Tarsus, mount Argæus, Isamus, Ægilus, the hill of Mamas, Cyrisus, Mocilus, the hill of Auxentius, the sun-dial of the Pharus of the great palace. He affirms, that the news were transmitted εν ακαρει, in an indivisible moment of time. Miserable amplification, which, by saying too much, says nothing. How much more forcible and instructive would have been the definition of three, or six, or twelve hours?

CHAP. LIII.

detail of the armament which was prepared for the reduction of Crete. A fleet of one hundred and twelve gallies and seventy-five vessels of the Pamphylian style, was equipped in the capital, the islands of the Ægean sea, and the sea-ports of Asia, Macedonia, and Greece. It carried thirty-four thousand mariners, seven thousand three hundred and forty soldiers, seven hundred Russians, and five thousand and eighty-seven Mardaites, whose fathers had been transplanted from the mountains of Libanus. Their pay, most probably of a month, was computed at thirty-four centenaries of gold, about one hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds sterling. Our fancy is bewildered by the endless recapitulation of arms and engines, of clothes and linen, of bread for the men and forage for the horses, and of stores and utensils of every description, inadequate to the conquest of a petty island, but amply sufficient for the establishment of a flourishing colony.[s]

Tactics and character of the Greeks.

The invention of the Greek fire did not, like that of gunpowder, produce a total revolution in the art of war. To these liquid combustibles the city and empire of Constantinople owed their deliverance; and they were employed in sieges and sea-fights with terrible effect. But they were

[s] See the Ceremoniale of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, l. ii, c. 44, p. 176-192. A critical reader will discern some inconsistencies in different parts of this account; but they are not more obscure or more stubborn than the establishment and effectives, the present and fit for duty, the rank and file and the private, of a modern return, which retain in proper hands the knowledge of these profitable mysteries.

CHAP. LIII.

either less improved, or less susceptible of improvements: the engines of antiquity, the catapultæ, balistæ, and battering-rams, were still of most frequent and powerful use in the attack and defence of fortifications; nor was the decision of battles reduced to the quick and heavy *fire* of a line of infantry, whom it were fruitless to protect with armour against a similar fire of their enemies. Steel and iron were still the common instruments of destruction and safety; and the helmets, cuirasses, and shields, of the tenth century, did not, either in form or substance, essentially differ from those which had covered the companions of Alexander or Achilles.[h] But instead of accustoming the modern Greeks, like the legionaries of old, to the constant and easy use of this salutary weight, their armour was laid aside in light chariots, which followed the march, till on the approach of an enemy they resumed with haste and reluctance the unusual encumbrance. Their offensive weapons consisted of swords, battle-axes, and spears; but the Macedonian pike was shortened a fourth of its length, and reduced to the more convenient measure of twelve cubits or feet. The sharpness of the Scythian and Arabian arrows had been severely felt; and the emperors lament the decay of archery as a cause of the public misfortunes, and recommend as an advice, and a command, that the military youth, till the age of forty, should assidu-

[h] See the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, περι οπλων, περι οπλισεων, and περι γυμνασιας, in the Tactics of Leo, with the corresponding passages in those of Constantine.

CHAP. LIII.

ously practise the exercise of the bow.[1] The *bands*, or regiments, were usually three hundred strong; and, as a medium between the extremes of four and sixteen, the foot-soldiers of Leo and Constantine were formed eight deep; but the cavalry charged in four ranks from the reasonable consideration, that the weight of the front could not be increased by any pressure of the hindmost horses. If the ranks of the infantry or cavalry were sometimes doubled, this cautious array betrayed a secret distrust of the courage of the troops, whose numbers might swell the appearance of the line, but of whom only a chosen band would dare to encounter the spears and swords of the barbarians. The order of battle must have varied according to the ground, the object, and the adversary; but their ordinary disposition, in two lines and a reserve, presented a succession of hopes and resources most agreeable to the temper as well as the judgment of the Greeks.[k] In case of a repulse, the first line fell back into the intervals of the second; and the reserve, breaking into two divisions, wheeled round the flanks to improve the victory or cover the retreat. Whatever authority could enact was accomplished, at least in theory, by the camps and marches, the exercises and evolutions, the

[1] They observe της γαρ τοξειας παντελως αμεληθεισης . . . εν τοις Ρωμαιοις τα πολλα των ειωθοτα σφαλματα γινεσθαι. Leo, Tactic. p. 581. Constantin. p. 1216. Yet such were not the maxims of the Greeks and Romans, who despised the loose and distant practice of archery.

[k] Compare the passages of the Tactics, p. 669 and 721, and the xliith with the xviiith chapter.

edicts and books, of the Byzantine monarch.[l] Whatever art could produce from the forge, the loom, or the laboratory, was abundantly supplied by the riches of the prince, and the industry of his numerous workmen. But neither authority nor art could frame the most important machine, the soldier himself; and if the *ceremonies* of Constantine always suppose the safe and triumphal return of the emperor,[m] his *tactics* seldom soar above the means of escaping a defeat, and procrastinating the war.[n] Notwithstanding some transient success, the Greeks were sunk in their own esteem and that of their neighbours. A cold hand and a loquacious tongue was the vulgar description of the nation: the author of the tactics was besieged in his capital; and the last of the barbarians, who trembled at the name of the Saracens or Franks, could proudly exhibit the medals of gold and silver which they had extorted from the feeble sovereign of Constantinople. What spirit their government and charac-

[l] In the preface to his Tactics, Leo very freely deplores the loss of discipline and the calamities of the times, and repeats without scruple (Procm. p. 537), the reproaches of αμαθια, αταξια, αγυμνασια, δειλια, &c.; nor does it appear that the same censures were less deserved in the next generation by the disciples of Constantine.

[m] See in the Ceremonial (l. ii, c. 19, p. 353), the form of the emperor's trampling on the necks of the captive Saracens, while the singers chanted "thou hast made my enemies my footstool!" and the people shouted forty times the kyrie eleison.

[n] Leo observes (Tactic. p. 608) that a fair open battle against any nation whatsoever, is επισφαλες and επικινδυνον; the words are strong, and the remark is true; yet if such had been the opinion of the old Romans, Leo had never reigned on the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus.

CHAP. LIII.

ter denied, might have been inspired in some degree by the influence of religion; but the religion of the Greeks could only teach them to suffer and to yield. The emperor Nicephorus, who restored for a moment the discipline and glory of the Roman name, was desirous of bestowing the honours of martyrdom on the Christians, who lost their lives in an holy war against the infidels. But this political law was defeated by the opposition of the patriarch, the bishops, and the principal senators; and they strenuously urged the canons of St Basil, that all who were polluted by the bloody trade of a soldier, should be separated, during three years, from the communion of the faithful.[o]

Character and tactics of the Saracens.

These scruples of the Greeks have been compared with the tears of the primitive Moslems when they were held back from battle; and this contrast of base superstition, and high-spirited enthusiasm, unfolds to a philosophic eye the history of the rival nations. The subjects of the last caliphs[p] had undoubtedly degenerated from the zeal and faith of the companions of the prophet. Yet their martial creed still represented

[o] Zonaras (tom. ii, l. xvi, p. 202, 203) and Cedrenus (Compend. p. 668), who relate the design of Nicephorus, most unfortunately apply the epithet of γνωσιμος to the opposition of the patriarch.

[p] The xviiith chapter of the tactics of the different nations, is the most historical and useful of the whole collection of Leo. The manners and arms of the Saracens (Tactic. p. 809-817, and a fragment from the Medicean MS. in the preface of the 6th volume of Meursius) the Roman emperor was too frequently called upon to study.

the deity as the author of war:[q] the vital though latent spark of fanaticism still glowed in the heart of their religion, and among the Saracens who dwelt on the christian borders, it was frequently rekindled to a lively and active flame. Their regular force was formed of the valiant slaves who had been educated to guard the person, and accompany the standard, of their lord; but the Mussulman people of Syria and Cilicia, of Africa and Spain, was awakened by the trumpet which proclaimed an holy war against the infidels. The rich were ambitious of death or victory in the cause of God; the poor were allured by the hopes of plunder; and the old, the infirm, and the women, assumed their share of meritorious service, by sending their substitutes, with arms and horses, into the field. These offensive and defensive arms were similar in strength and temper to those of the Romans, whom they far excelled in the management of the horse and the bow; the massy silver of their belts, their bridles, and their swords, displayed the magnificence of a prosperous nation, and, except some black archers of the South, the Arabs disdained the naked bravery of their ancestors. Instead of waggons, they were attended by a long train of camels, mules, and asses; the multitude of these animals, whom they bedecked with flags and streamers, appeared to swell the pomp and magnitude of their host; and the horses of the ene-

CHAP. LIII.

[q] Παντες δε και καλων εργων του Θεου αιτιον υπο τιθενται, και πολεμους χαιρ' ὁ λεγουσι τον Θεον των διαφερομενων εθνων τα της γης μεμυ, θελοντα. Leon. Tact. p. 809.

CHAP. LIII.

my were often disordered by the uncouth figure and odious smell of the camels of the East. Invincible by their patience of thirst and heat, their spirits were frozen by a winter's cold; and the consciousness of their propensity to sleep exacted the most rigorous precautions against the surprises of the night. Their order of battle was a long square of two deep and solid lines; the first of archers, the second of cavalry. In their engagements by sea and land, they sustained with patient firmness the fury of the attack, and seldom advanced to the charge till they could discern and oppress the lassitude of their foes. But if they were repulsed and broken, they knew not how to rally or renew the combat; and their dismay was heightened by the superstitious prejudice, that God had declared himself on the side of their enemies. The decline and fall of the caliphs countenanced this fearful opinion; nor were there wanting, among the Mahometans and Christians, some obscure prophecies[1] which prognosticated their alternate defeats. The unity of the Arabian empire was dissolved, but the independent fragments were equal to populous and powerful kingdoms; and in their naval and military armaments, an emir of Aleppo or Tunis might command no despicable fund of skill, and industry, and treasure. In their transactions of peace and war with the Saracens, the princes of

[1] Liutprand (p. 481, 485) relates and interprets the oracles of the Greeks and Saracens; in which, after the fashion of prophecy, the past is clear and historical; the future is dark, enigmatical, and erroneous. From this boundary of light and shade, an impartial critic may commonly determine the date of the composition.

CHAP. LIII.

Constantinople too often felt that these barbarians had nothing barbarous in their discipline; and that, if they were destitute of original genius, they had been endowed with a quick spirit of curiosity and imitation. The model was indeed more perfect than the copy: their ships, and engines, and fortifications, were of a less skilful construction; and they confess, without shame, that the same God who has given a tongue to the Arabians, had more nicely fashioned the hands of the Chinese, and the heads of the Greeks.[s]

The Franks or Latins.

A name of some German tribes between the Rhine and the Weser had spread its victorious influence over the greatest part of Gaul, Germany, and Italy; and the common appellation of *Franks*[t] was applied by the Greeks and Arabians to the Christians of the Latin church, the nations of the West, who stretched beyond *their* knowledge to the shores of the Atlantic ocean. The vast body had been inspired and united by the soul of Charlemagne; but the division and degeneracy of his race soon annihilated the imperial power, which would have rivalled the Cæsars of Byzantium, and revenged the indignities

[s] The sense of this distinction is expressed by Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 2, 63, 101), but I cannot recollect the passage in which it is conveyed by this lively apothegm.

[t] Ex Francis, quo nomine tam Latinos quam Teutones comprehendit, ludum habuit (Liutprand in Legat. ad Imp. Nicephorum, p. 483, 484). This extension of the name may be confirmed from Constantine (de administrando Imperio, l. ii, c. 27, 28), and Eutychius (Annal. tom. i, p. 53, 56), who both lived before the crusades. The testimonies of Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 63), and Abulfeda (Præfat. ad Geograph.) are more recent.

CHAP. LIII.

of the christian name. The enemies no longer feared, nor could the subjects any longer trust, the application of a public revenue, the labours of trade and manufactures in the military service, the mutual aid of provinces and armies, and the naval squadrons which were regularly stationed from the mouth of the Elbe to that of the Tyber. In the beginning of the tenth century, the family of Charlemagne had almost disappeared; his monarchy was broken into many hostile and independent states; the regal title was assumed by the most ambitious chiefs; their revolt was imitated in a long subordination of anarchy and discord, and the nobles of every province disobeyed their sovereign, oppressed their vassals, and exercised perpetual hostilities against their equals and neighbours. Their private wars, which overturned the fabric of government, fomented the martial spirit of the nation. In the system of modern Europe, the power of the sword is possessed, at least in fact, by five or six mighty potentates; their operations are conducted on a distant frontier, by an order of men who devote their lives to the study and practice of the military art: the rest of the country and community enjoys in the midst of war the tranquillity of peace, and is only made sensible of the change by the aggravation or decrease of the public taxes. In the disorders of the tenth and eleventh centuries, every peasant was a soldier, and every village a fortification; each wood or valley was a scene of murder and rapine; and the lords of each castle were compelled to assume the character of princes and warriors. To their own

courage and policy, they boldly trusted for the safety of their family, the protection of their lands, and the revenge of their injuries; and, like the conquerors of a larger size, they were too apt to transgress the privilege of defensive war. The powers of the mind and body were hardened by the presence of danger and necessity of resolution: the same spirit refused to desert a friend and to forgive an enemy; and, instead of sleeping under the guardian care of the magistrate, they proudly disdained the authority of the laws. In the days of feudal anarchy, the instruments of agriculture and art were converted into the weapons of bloodshed; the peaceful occupations of civil and ecclesiastical society were abolished or corrupted; and the bishop who exchanged his mitre for an helmet, was more forcibly urged by the manners of the times than by the obligation of his tenure.[n] CHAP. LIII.

Their character and tactics.

The love of freedom and of arms was felt, with conscious pride, by the Franks themselves, and is observed by the Greeks with some degree of amazement and terror. "The Franks," says the emperor Constantine, "are bold and valiant to "the verge of temerity; and their dauntless spi- "rit is supported by the contempt of danger and "death. In the field and in close onset, they "press to the front, and rush headlong against

[n] On this subject of ecclesiastical and beneficiary discipline, father Thomassin (tom. iii, l. i, c. 40, 45, 46, 47) may be usefully consulted. A general law of Charlemagne exempted the bishops from personal service; but the opposite practice, which prevailed from the ninth to the fifteenth century, is countenanced by the example or silence of saints and doctors. . . You justify your cowardice by the holy canons, says Rutherius of Verona; the canons likewise forbid you to whore and yet——

CHAP. LIII.

"the enemy, without deigning to compute either his numbers or their own. Their ranks "are formed by the firm connections of consanguinity and friendship; and their martial deeds "are prompted by the desire of saving or revenging their dearest companions. In their "eyes, a retreat is a shameful flight; and flight "is indelible infamy."[x] A nation endowed with such high and intrepid spirit, must have been secure of victory, if these advantages had not been counterbalanced by many weighty defects. The decay of their naval power left the Greeks and Saracens in possession of the sea, for every purpose of annoyance and supply. In the age which preceded the institution of knighthood, the Franks were rude and unskilful in the service of cavalry;[y] and in all perilous emergencies, their warriors were so conscious of their ignorance, that they chose to dismount from their horses and fight on foot. Unpractised in the use of pikes, or of missile weapons, they were encumbered by the length of their swords, the weight of their armour, the magnitude of their shields, and, if I may repeat the satire of the meagre Greeks, by their unwieldy intemperance. Their independent spirit disdained the yoke of subordination,

[x] In the xviiith chapter of his Tactics, the emperor Leo has fairly stated the military vices and virtues of the Franks (whom Meursius ridiculously translates by *Galli*) and the Lombards, or Langobards. See likewise the xxivth Dissertation of Muratori de Antiquitatibus Italiæ medii Ævi.

[y] Domini tui milites (says the proud Nicephorus) equitandi ignari pedestris pugnæ sunt inscii: scutorum magnitudo, loricarum gravitudo, ensium longitudo, galearumque pondus neutrâ parte pugnare eos sinit; ac subridens, impedit, inquit, et eos gastrimargia hoc est ventris ingluvies, &c. Liutprand in Legat. p. 480, 481.

and abandoned the standard of their chief, if he attempted to keep the field beyond the term of their stipulation or service. On all sides they were open to the snares of an enemy, less brave, but more artful, than themselves. They might be bribed, for the barbarians were venal; or surprised in the night, for they neglected the precautions of a close encampment or vigilant centinels. The fatigues of a summer's campaign exhausted their strength and patience, and they sunk in despair if their voracious appetite was disappointed of a plentiful supply of wine and of food. This general character of the Franks was marked with some national and local shades, which I should ascribe to accident, rather than to climate, but which were visible both to natives and to foreigners. An ambassador of the great Otho declared, in the palace of Constantinople, that the Saxons could dispute with swords better than with pens; and that they preferred inevitable death to the dishonour of turning their backs to an enemy.[a] It was the glory of the nobles of France, that, in their humble dwellings, war and rapine were the only pleasure, the sole occupation, of their lives. They affected to deride the palaces, the banquets, the polished manners, of the Italians, who, in the estimate of the Greeks themselves, had degenerated from the liberty and valour of the ancient Lombards.[b]

CHAP. LIII.

[a] In Saxonia certe scio .... decentius ensibus pugnare quam calamis, et prius mortem obire quam hostibus terga dare (Liutprand, p. 492).

[b] Φραγγοι πολιν και Λογιβαρδοι λογον ελευθεριας περι πολλου ποιουνται, αλλ' ει μεν Λογιβαρδοι το πλεον της τοιαυτης αρετης πεπωλεσα Leonis Tactica, tit. 18, p. 805. The emperor Leo died A. D. 911: an historical poem,

CHAP. LIII.

Oblivion of the Latin language.

By the well-known edict of Caracalla, his subjects, from Britain to Egypt, were entitled to the name and privileges of Romans, and their national sovereign might fix his occasional or permanent residence in any province of their common country. In the division of the East and West, an ideal unity was scrupulously preserved, and in their titles, laws, and statutes, the successors of Arcadius and Honorius announced themselves as the inseparable colleagues of the same office, as the joint sovereigns of the Roman world and city, which were bounded by the same limits. After the fall of the Western monarchy, the majesty of the purple resided solely in the princes of Constantinople; and of these, Justinian was the first who, after a divorce of sixty years, regained the dominion of ancient Rome, and asserted, by the right of conquest, the august title of emperor of the Romans.[b] A motive of vanity or discontent solicited one of

which ends in 916, and appears to have been composed in 940, by a native of Venetia, discriminates in these verses the manners of Italy and France:

——Quid inertia bello
Pectora (Ubertus ait) duris prætenditis armis
O Itali? Potius vobis sacra pocula cordi;
Sæpius et stomachum nitidis laxare saginis
Elatasque domos rutilo fulcire metallo.
Non eadem Gallos similis vel cura remordet;
Vicinas quibus est studium devincere terras
Depressumque larem spoliis hinc inde coactis
Sustentare——

(Anonym. Carmen Panegyricum de Laudibus Berengarii Augusti, l. ii, in Muratori Script. Rerum Italic. tom. ii, pars. i, p. 393.)

[b] Justinian, says the historian Agathias (l. v, p. 157), πρωτος Ρωμαιων αυτοκρατωρ ὀνοματι και πραγματι. Yet the specific title of emperor of the Romans was not used at Constantinople, till it had been claimed by the French and German emperors of old Rome.

his successors, Constans the Second, to abandon the Thracian Bosphorus, and to restore the pristine honours of the Tyber: an extravagant project (exclaims the malicious Byzantine), as if he had despoiled a beautiful and blooming virgin, to enrich, or rather to expose, the deformity of a wrinkled and decrepid matron.[c] But the sword of the Lombards opposed his settlement in Italy: he entered Rome, not as a conqueror, but as a fugitive, and, after a visit of twelve days, he pillaged, and for ever deserted, the ancient capital of the world.[d] The final revolt and separation of Italy was accomplished about two centuries after the conquests of Justinian, and from his reign we may date the gradual oblivion of the Latin tongue. That legislator had composed his institutes, his code, and his pandects, in a language which he celebrates as the proper and public style of the Roman government, the consecrated idiom of the palace and senate of Constantinople, of the camps and tribunals of the East.[e] But this foreign dialect was unknown to

CHAP. LIII.

[c] Constantine Manasses reprobates this design in his barbarous verse:

Την πολιν την βασιλειαν απεκεσμησαι θελων,
Και την αρχην χαρισασθαι τριπιμπλην Ρωμη,
Ως δυτις αβλεφαλιστον απεκοσμησεν νυμφην,
Και χαιν τινα τριχωματιν ουκ εχουσαν αιδειν.

and it is confirmed by Theophanes, Zonaras, Cedrenus, and the Historia Miscella: voluit in urbem Romam Imperium transferre (l. xix, p. 157, in tom. i, pars i. of the Scriptores Rer. Ital. of Muratori).

[d] Paul. Diacon. l. v, c. 11, p. 400. Anastasius in Vitis Pontificum, in Muratori's Collection, tom. iii, pars. i, p. 111.

[e] Consult the preface of Ducange (ad Gloss. Græc. medii Ævi), and the Novels of Justinian (vii, lxvi). The Greek language was ομιλια, the Latin was πατριος to himself, κυριωτατος to the πολιτικης σχημα, the system of government.

CHAP. LIII.

the people and soldiers of the Asiatic provinces, it was imperfectly understood by the greater part of the interpreters of the laws and the ministers of the state. After a short conflict, nature and habit prevailed over the obsolete institutions of human power: for the general benefit of his subjects, Justinian promulgated his novels in the two languages; the several parts of his voluminous jurisprudence were successively translated:[f] the original was forgotten, the version was studied, and the Greek, whose intrinsic merit deserved indeed the preference, obtained a legal as well as popular establishment in the Byzantine monarchy. The birth and residence of succeeding princes estranged them from the Roman idiom: Tiberius by the Arabs,[g] and Maurice by the Italians,[h] are distinguished as the first of the Greek Cæsars, as the founders of

[f] Ου μεν αλλα και Λατινικη λεξις και φρασις εν ισῳ τῃ νομῳ της συλλογης ταυτην μη δυναμενως απεστιλχεν (Matth. Blastares, Hist. Juris, apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xii, p. 369). The Code and Pandects (the latter by Thalelæus) were translated in the time of Justinian (p. 358, 360). Theophilus, one of the original triumvirs, has left an elegant, though diffuse, paraphrase of the Institutes. On the other hand, Julian, antecessor of Constantinople (A. D. 570), exx. Novellas Græcas eleganti Latinitate donavit (Heineccius, Hist. J. R. p. 390), for the use of Italy and Africa.

[g] Abulpharagius assigns the 7th dynasty to the Franks or Romans, the 8th to the Greeks, the 9th to the Arabs. A tempore Augusti Cæsaris donec imperaret Tiberius Cæsar spatio circiter annorum 600 fuerunt Imperatores C. P. Patricii, et præcipua pars exercitûs Romani: extra quod, consiliarii, scribæ et populus, omnes Græci fuerunt: deinde regnum etiam Græcanicum factum est (p. 90, vers. Pocock). The christian and ecclesiastical studies of Abulpharagius gave him some advantage over the more ignorant *Moslems*.

[h] Primus ex Græcorum genere in Imperio confirmatus est; or according to another MS. of Paulus Diaconus (l. iii, c. 15, p. 443), in Græcorum Imperio.

a new dynasty and empire: the silent revolution was accomplished before the death of Heraclius; and the ruins of the Latin speech were darkly preserved in the terms of jurisprudence and the acclamations of the palace. After the restoration of the Western empire by Charlemagne and the Othos, the names of Franks and Latins acquired an equal signification and extent; and these haughty barbarians asserted, with some justice, their superior claim to the language and dominion of Rome. They insulted the aliens of the East, who had renounced the dress and idiom of Romans; and their reasonable practice will justify the frequent appellation of Greeks.[i] But this contemptuous appellation was indignantly rejected by the prince and people to whom it is applied. Whatsoever changes had been introduced by the lapse of ages, they alleged a lineal and unbroken succession from Augustus and Constantine; and, in the lowest period of degeneracy and decay, the name of *Romans* adhered to the last fragments of the empire of Constantinople.[k]

CHAP. LIII.

The Greek emperors and their subjects retain and assert the name of Romans.

[i] Quia linguam, mores, vestesque mutastis, putavit Sanctissimus Papa (an audacious irony), ita vos (vobis) displicere Romanorum nomen. Hic nuncios, rogabant Nicephorum Imperatorem Græcorum, ut cum Othone Imperatore Romanorum amicitiam faceret (Liutprand in Legatione, p. 480).

[k] By Laonicus Chalcocondyles, who survived the last siege of Constantinople, the account is thus stated (l. i, p. 3): Constantine transplanted his Latins of Italy to a Greek city of Thrace: they adopted the language and manners of the natives, who were confounded with them under the name of Romans. The kings of Constantinople, says the historian, επι το σφας αυτους σεμνυνεσθαι Ρωμαιων βασιλεις τε και αυτοκρατορας ανακαλειν. Ελλησιν δε βασιλευς ουκετι αξιον.

CHAP. LIII.

Period of ignorance.

While the government of the East was transacted in Latin, the Greek was the language of literature and philosophy; nor could the masters of this rich and perfect idiom be tempted to envy the borrowed learning and imitative taste of their Roman disciples. After the fall of paganism, the loss of Syria and Egypt, and the extinction of the schools of Alexandria and Athens, the studies of the Greeks insensibly retired to some regular monasteries, and, above all, to the royal college of Constantinople, which was burnt in the reign of Leo the Isaurian.[1] In the pompous style of the age, the president of that foundation was named the sun of science: his twelve associates, the professors in the different arts and faculties, were the twelve signs of the zodiac; a library of thirty-six thousand five hundred volumes was open to their enquiries; and they could shew an ancient manuscript of Homer, on a roll of parchment one hundred and twenty feet[m] in length, the intestines, as it was fabled, of a prodigious serpent.[n] But the seventh and eighth centuries were a period of discord and darkness; the library was burnt, the college was abolished, the Iconoclasts are represented as the foes of antiquity; and a savage ignorance and con-

[1] See Ducange (C. P. Christiana, l. ii, p. 150, 151), who collects the testimonies, not of Theophanes, but at least of Zonaras (tom. ii, l. xv, p. 104), Cedrenus (p. 454), Michael Glycas (p. 281), Constantine Manasses (p. 87). After refuting the absurd charge against the emperor, Spanheim (Hist. Imaginum, p. 99-111), like a true advocate, proceeds to doubt or deny the reality of the fire, and almost of the library.

[m] According to Malchus (apud Zonar. l. xiv, p. 53), this Homer was burnt in the time of Basiliscus. The MS. might be renewed—But on a serpent's skin? Most strange and incredible!

tempt of letters has disgraced the princes of the Heraclean and Isaurian dynasties.[n] CHAP. LIII.

In the ninth century, we trace the first dawnings of the restoration of science.[o] After the fanaticism of the Arabs had subsided, the caliphs aspired to conquer the arts, rather than the provinces, of the empire: their liberal curiosity rekindled the emulation of the Greeks, brushed away the dust from their ancient libraries, and taught them to know and reward the philosophers, whose labours had been hitherto repaid by the pleasure of study and the pursuit of truth. The Cæsar Bardas, the uncle of Michael the Third, was the generous protector of letters, a title which alone has preserved his memory and excused his ambition. A particle of the treasures of his nephew was sometimes diverted from the indulgence of vice and folly; a school was opened in the palace of Magnaura; and the presence of Bardas excited the emulation of the masters and students. At their head was the philosopher Leo, archbishop of Thessalonica; his profound skill in astronomy and the mathematics was admired by the strangers of the East; and this occult science was magnified by vulgar credulity, which modestly supposes that all knowledge superior to its own must be the effect of inspiration Revival of Greek learning.

[n] The αλογια of Zonaras, the αγρια και αμαθια of Cedrenus, are strong words, perhaps not ill suited to those reigns.

[o] See Zonaras (l. xvi, p. 160, 161), and Cedrenus (p. 549, 550). Like Friar Bacon, the philosopher Leo has been transformed by ignorance into a conjurer; yet not so undeservedly, if he be the author of the oracles more commonly ascribed to the emperor of the same name. The physics of Leo in MS. are in the library of Vienna (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 166, tom. xii, p. 781). Quiescunt!

CHAP. LIII.

or magic. At the pressing entreaty of the Cæsar, his friend, the celebrated Photius,[q] renounced the freedom of a secular and studious life, ascended the patriarchal throne, and was alternately excommunicated and absolved by the synods of the East and West. By the confession even of priestly hatred, no art or science, except poetry, was foreign to this universal scholar, who was deep in thought, indefatigable in reading, and eloquent in diction. Whilst he exercised the office of protospathaire, or captain of the guards, Photius was sent ambassador to the caliph of Bagdad.[r] The tedious hours of exile, perhaps of confinement, were beguiled by the hasty composition of his *library*, a living monument of erudition and criticism. Two hundred and fourscore writers, historians, orators, philosophers, theologians, are reviewed without any regular method: he abridges their narrative or doctrine, appreciates their style and character, and judges even the fathers of the church with a discreet freedom which often breaks through the superstition of the times. The emperor Basil, who lamented the defects of his own education, entrusted to the care of Photius his son and successor

[q] The ecclesiastical and literary character of Photius is copiously discussed by Hanckius (de Scriptoribus Byzant. p. 269-396) and Fabricius.

[r] Εἰς Ἀσσυρίους can only mean Bagdad, the seat of the caliph; and the relation of his embassy might have been curious and instructive. But how did he procure *his* books? A library so numerous could neither be found at Bagdad, nor transported with his baggage, nor preserved in *his* memory. Yet the last, however incredible, seems to be affirmed by Photius himself, ὅσας αὐτὰς ἡ μνήμη διέσωζε. Cumberland (Hist. Critique des Journaux, p. 87-94) gives a good account of the Miriobiblon.

Leo the philosopher; and the reign of that prince and of his son Constantine Porphyrogenitus forms one of the most prosperous eras of the Byzantine literature. By their munificence the treasures of antiquity were deposited in the imperial library; by their pens, or those of their associates, they were imparted in such extracts and abridgements as might amuse the curiosity, without oppressing the indolence, of the public. Besides the *Basilics*, or code of laws, the arts of husbandry and war, of feeding or destroying the human species, were propagated with equal diligence; and the history of Greece and Rome was digested into fifty-three heads or titles, of which two only (of embassies, and of virtues and vices) have escaped the injuries of time. In every station, the reader might contemplate the image of the past world, apply the lesson or warning of each page, and learn to admire, perhaps to imitate, the examples of a brighter period. I shall not expatiate on the works of the Byzantine Greeks, who, by the assiduous study of the ancients, have deserved in some measure the remembrance and gratitude of the moderns. The scholars of the present age may still enjoy the benefit of the philosophical common-place book of Stobæus, the grammatical and historical lexicon of Suidas, the Chiliads of Tzetzes, which comprise six hundred narratives in twelve thousand verses, and the commentaries on Homer of Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, who, from his horn of plenty, has poured the names and authorities of four hundred writers. From these

CHAP. LIII.

CHAP. LIII.

originals, and from the numerous tribes of scholiasts and critics,[r] some estimate may be formed of the literary wealth of the twelfth century: Constantinople was enlightened by the genius of Homer and Demosthenes, of Aristotle and Plato; and in the enjoyment or neglect of our present riches, we must envy the generation that could still peruse the history of Theopompus, the orations of Hyperides, the comedies of Menander,[s] and the odes of Alcæus and Sappho. The frequent labour of illustration attests not only the existence but the popularity of the Grecian classics: the general knowledge of the age may be deduced from the example of two learned females, the empress Eudocia, and the princess Anna Comnena, who cultivated, in the purple, the arts of rhetoric and philosophy.[t]

[r] Of these modern Greeks, see the respective articles in the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius; a laborious work, yet susceptible of a better method and many improvements: of Eustathius (tom. i, p. 289-292, 306-329); of the Pselli (a diatribe of Leo Allatius, ad calcem tom. v); of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (tom. vi, p. 486-509); of John Stobæus (tom. viii, 665-720); of Suidas (tom. ix, p. 620-847); John Tzetzes (tom. xii, p. 215-279). Mr Harris, in his Philological Arrangements, opus utile, has given a sketch of this Byzantine learning (p. 287-300.)

[s] From obscure and hearsay evidence, Gerard Vossius (de Poetis Græcis, c. 6) and Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Choisie, tom. xix, p. 265) mention a commentary of Michael Psellus on twenty-four plays of Menander, still extant in MS. at Constantinople. Yet such classic studies seem incompatible with the gravity or dulness of a schoolman who pored over the categories (de Psellis, p. 42): and Michael has probably been confounded with Homerus *Seltius*, who wrote arguments to the comedies of Menander. In the tenth century Suidas quotes fifty plays, but he often transcribes the old scholiast of Aristophanes.

[t] Anna Comnena may boast of her Greek style (το ελληνιζον ες ακρον επαιδευσεν), and Zonaras, her contemporary, but not her

The vulgar dialect of the city was gross and barbarous: a more correct and elaborate style distinguished the discourse, or at least the compositions, of the church and palace, which sometimes affected to copy the purity of the Attic models. CHAP. LIII.

In our modern education, the painful though necessary attainment of two languages, which are no longer living, may consume the time and damp the ardour of the youthful student. The poets and orators were long imprisoned in the barbarous dialects of our western ancestors, devoid of harmony or grace; and their genius, without precept or example, was abandoned to the rude and native powers of their judgment and fancy. But the Greeks of Constantinople, after purging away the impurities of their vulgar speech, acquired the free use of their ancient language, the most happy composition of human art, and a familiar knowledge of the sublime masters who had pleased or instructed the first of nations. But these advantages only tend to aggravate the reproach and shame of a degenerate people. They held in their lifeless hands the riches of their fathers, without inheriting the spirit which had created and improved that sacred patrimony: they read, they praised, they compiled, but their languid souls seemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries, not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the happi- Decay of taste and genius.

flatterer, may add with truth, γλωτταν εἶχεν ἀκριβῶς Ἀττικίζουσαν. The princess was conversant with the artful dialogues of Plato; and had studied the τετρακτυς, or *quadrivium* of astrology, geometry, arithmetic, and music. (See her preface to the Alexiad, with Ducange's notes).

CHAP. LIII.

ness of mankind. Not a single idea has been added to the speculative systems of antiquity, and a succession of patient disciples became in their turn the dogmatic teachers of the next servile generation. Not a single composition of history, philosophy, or literature, has been saved from oblivion by the intrinsic beauties of style or sentiment, of original fancy, or even of successful imitation. In prose the least offensive of the Byzantine writers are absolved from censure by their naked and unpresuming simplicity; but the orators, most eloquent[u] in their own conceit, are the farthest removed from the models whom they affect to emulate. In every page our taste and reason are wounded by the choice of gigantic and obsolete words, a stiff and intricate phraseology, the discord of images, the childish play of false or unseasonable ornament, and the painful attempt to elevate themselves, to astonish the reader, and to involve a trivial meaning in the smoke of obscurity and exaggeration. Their prose is soaring to the vicious affectation of poetry: their poetry is sinking below the flatness and insipidity of prose. The tragic, epic, and lyric muses, were silent and inglorious: the bards of Constantinople seldom rose above a riddle or epigram, a panegyric or tale; they forgot even the rules of prosody; and with the melody of Homer yet sounding in their ears, they confound all measure of feet and syllables in the impotent strains which have received the name of *political*

[u] To censure the Byzantine taste, Ducange (Præfat. Gloss. Græc. p. 17) strings the authorities of Aulus Gellius, Jerom Petronius, George Humartolus, Longinus; who give at once the precept and the example.

or city verses.[x] The minds of the Greeks were bound in the fetters of a base and imperious superstition, which extends her dominion round the circle of profane science. Their understandings were bewildered in metaphysical controversy: in the belief of visions and miracles, they had lost all principles of moral evidence, and their taste was vitiated by the homilies of the monks, an absurd medley of declamation and scripture. Even these contemptible studies were no longer dignified by the abuse of superior talents; the leaders of the Greek church were humbly content to admire and copy the oracles of antiquity, nor did the schools or pulpit produce any rivals of the fame of Athanasius and Chrysostom.[y]

Want of national emulation.

In all the pursuits of active and speculative life, the emulation of states and individuals is the most powerful spring of the efforts and improvements of mankind. The cities of ancient Greece were cast in the happy mixture of union and independence, which is repeated on a larger scale, but in a looser form, by the nations of modern Europe: the union of language, religion, and manners, which renders them the spectators and judges of each other's merit:[z] the independence of government and interest, which asserts

[x] The *versus politici*, those common prostitutes, as, from their easiness, they are styled by Leo Allatius, usually consist of fifteen syllables. They are used by Constantine Manasses, John Tzetzes, &c. (Ducange, Gloss. Latin. tom. iii, p. i, p. 945, 946, edit. Bazil. 1762).

[y] As St Bernard of the Latin, so St John Damascenus in the eighth century, is revered as the last father of the Greek church.

[z] Hume's Essays, vol. i, p. 195

CHAP. LIII.

their separate freedom, and excites them to strive for pre-eminence in the career of glory. The situation of the Romans was less favourable; yet in the early ages of the republic, which fixed the national character, a similar emulation was kindled among the states of Latium and Italy; and, in the arts and sciences, they aspired to equal or surpass their Grecian masters. The empire of the Cæsars undoubtedly checked the activity and progress of the human mind; its magnitude might indeed allow some scope for domestic competition; but when it was gradually reduced, at first to the East, and at last to Greece and Constantinople, the Byzantine subjects were degraded to an abject and languid temper, the natural effect of their solitary and insulated state. From the North they were oppressed by nameless tribes of barbarians, to whom they scarcely imparted the appellation of men. The language and religion of the more polished Arabs were an insurmountable bar to all social intercourse. The conquerors of Europe were their brethren in the christian faith; but the speech of the Franks or Latins was unknown, their manners were rude, and they were rarely connected, in peace or war, with the successors of Heraclius. Alone in the universe, the self-satisfied pride of the Greeks was not disturbed by the comparison of foreign merit; and it is no wonder if they fainted in the race, since they had neither competitors to urge their speed, nor judges to crown their victory. The nations of Europe and Asia were mingled by the expeditions to the Holy

Land; and it is under the Comnenian dynasty that a faint emulation of knowledge and military virtue was rekindled in the Byzantine empire. CHAP. LIII.

CHAP. LIV.

Origin and doctrine of the Paulicians.—Their persecution by the Greek emperors—Revolt in Armenia, &c.—Transplantation into Thrace—Propagation in the West—The seeds, character, and consequences of the reformation.

CHAP. LIV.

Supine superstition of the Greek church.

In the profession of Christianity, the variety of national characters may be clearly distinguished. The natives of Syria and Egypt abandoned their lives to lazy and contemplative devotion: Rome again aspired to the dominion of the world; and the wit of the lively and loquacious Greeks was consumed in the disputes of metaphysical theology. The incomprehensible mysteries of the trinity and incarnation, instead of commanding their silent submission, were agitated in vehement and subtle controversies, which enlarged their faith at the expence perhaps of their charity and reason. From the council of Nice to the end of the seventh century, the peace and unity of the church was invaded by these spiritual wars; and so deeply did they affect the decline and fall of the empire, that the historian has too often been compelled to attend the synods, to explore the creeds, and to enumerate the sects, of this busy period of ecclesiastical annals. From the beginning of the eighth century to the last ages of the Byzantine empire, the sound of controversy was seldom heard: curiosity was

exhausted, zeal was fatigued, and, in the decrees of six councils, the articles of the catholic faith had been irrevocably defined. The spirit of dispute, however vain and pernicious, requires some energy and exercise of the mental faculties; and the prostrate Greeks were content to fast, to pray, and to believe, in blind obedience to the patriarch and his clergy. During a long dream of superstition, the virgin and the saints, their visions and miracles, their relics and images, were preached by the monks and worshipped by the people; and the appellation of people might be extended without injustice to the first ranks of civil society. At an unseasonable moment, the Isaurian emperors attempted somewhat rudely to awaken their subjects: under their influence, reason might obtain some proselytes; a far greater number was swayed by interest or fear; but the Eastern world embraced or deplored their visible deities, and the restoration of images was celebrated as the feast of orthodoxy. In this passive and unanimous state the ecclesiastical rulers were relieved from the toil, or deprived of the pleasure, of persecution. The pagans had disappeared; the Jews were silent and obscure; the disputes with the Latins were rare and remote hostilities against a national enemy; and the sects of Egypt and Syria enjoyed a free toleration, under the shadow of the Arabian caliphs. About the middle of the seventh century, a branch of Manichæans was selected as the victims of spiritual tyranny: their patience was at length exasperated to despair and rebellion; and their

CHAP. LIV.

CHAP. LIV.

exile has scattered over the West the seeds of reformation. These important events will justify some enquiry into the doctrine and story of the *Paulicians*;[a] and, as they cannot plead for themselves, our candid criticism will magnify the *good*, and abate or suspect the *evil*, that is reported by their adversaries.

Origin of the Paulicians or disciples of St Paul, A. D. 660, &c.

The Gnostics, who had distracted the infancy, were oppressed by the greatness and authority, of the church. Instead of emulating or surpassing the wealth, learning, and numbers of the catholics, their obscure remnant was driven from the capitals of the East and West, and confined to the villages and mountains along the borders of the Euphrates. Some vestige of the Marcionites may be detected in the fifth century;[b] but the numerous sects were finally lost in the odious name of the Manichæans; and these heretics, who presumed to reconcile the doctrines of Zoroaster and Christ, were pursued by the two religions with equal and unrelenting hatred. Under the grandson of Heraclius, in the neighbourhood of Samosata, more famous for the birth of Lu-

[a] The errors and virtues of the Paulicians are weighed, with his usual judgment and candour, by the learned Mosheim (Hist. Ecclesiast. seculum ix, p. 311, &c.). He draws his original intelligence from Photius (contra Manichæos, l. i) and Peter Siculus (Hist. Manichæorum). The first of these accounts has not fallen into my hands; the second, which Mosheim prefers, I have read in a Latin version inserted in the Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum (tom. xvi, p. 754-764), from the edition of the Jesuit Raderus (Inglostadii, 1604, in 4to).

[b] In the time of Theodoret, the diocese of Cyrrhus, in Syria, contained eight hundred villages. Of these, two were inhabited by Arians and Eunomians, and eight by *Marcionites*, whom the laborious bishop reconciled to the catholic church (Dupin, Bibliot. Ecclesiastique, tom. iv, p. 31, 32).

cian than for the title of a Syrian kingdom, a reformer arose, esteemed by the *Paulicians* as the chosen messenger of truth. In his humble dwelling of Mananalis, Constantine entertained a deacon, who returned from Syrian captivity, and received the inestimable gift of the New Testament, which was already concealed from the vulgar by the prudence of the Greek, and perhaps of the Gnostic, clergy.[c] These books became the measure of his studies and the rule of his faith; and the catholics, who dispute his interpretation, acknowledged that his text was genuine and sincere. But he attached himself with peculiar devotion to the writings and character of St Paul. The name of the Paulicians is derived by their enemies from some unknown and domestic teacher; but I am confident that they gloried in their affinity to the apostle of the gentiles. His disciples, Titus, Timothy, Sylvanus, Tychicus, were represented by Constantine and his fellow-labourers: the names of the apostolic churches were applied to the congregations which they assembled in Armenia and Cappadocia; and this innocent allegory revived the example and memory of the first ages. In the gospel, and the epistles of St Paul, his faithful follower investigated the creed of primitive Christianity; and, whatever might be the success, a protestant reader will applaud the spirit of the enquiry. But if the scriptures of the Paulicians were pure,

CHAP. LIV.

Their Bible.

[c] Nobis profanis ista (*sacra Evangelia*) legere non licet sed sacerdotibus duntaxat, was the first scruple of a catholic when he was advised to read the Bible (Petr. Sicul. p. 761).

CHAP. LIV.

they were not perfect. Their founders rejected the two epistles of St Peter,[d] the apostle of the circumcision, whose dispute with their favourite for the observance of the law could not easily be forgiven.[e] They agreed with their Gnostic brethren in the universal contempt for the Old Testament, the books of Moses and the prophets, which have been consecrated by the decrees of the catholic church. With equal boldness, and doubtless with more reason, Constantine, the new Sylvanus, disclaimed the visions, which, in so many bulky and splendid volumes, had been published by the Oriental sects;[f] the fabulous productions of the Hebrew patriarchs and the sages of the East; the spurious gospels, epistles, and acts, which, in the first age, had overwhelmed the orthodox code; the theology of Manes, and the authors of the kindred heresies; and the thirty generations or æons, which had been created by the fruitful fancy of Valentine. The

[d] In rejecting the *second* epistle of St Peter, the Paulicians are justified by some of the most respectable of the ancients and moderns (see Wetstein ad loc. Simon, Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament, c. 17). They likewise overlooked the Apocalypse (Petr. Sicul. p. 756); but as such neglect is not imputed as a crime, the Greeks of the ninth century must have been careless of the credit and honour of the Revelations.

[e] This contention, which has not escaped the malice of Porphyry, supposes some error and passion in one or both of the apostles. By Chrysostom, Jerom, and Erasmus, it is represented as a sham quarrel, a pious fraud, for the benefit of the Gentiles, and the correction of the Jews (Middleton's Works, vol. ii, p. 1-20).

[f] Those who are curious of this heterodox library, may consult the researches of Beausobre (Hist. Critique du Manicheisme, tom. i, p. 305-437). Even in Africa, St Austin could describe the Manichæan books, tam multi, tam grandes, tam pretiosi codices (contra Faust. xiii, 14); but he adds, without pity, Incendite omnes illas membranas; and his advice has been rigorously followed.

Paulicians sincerely condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichæan sect, and complained of the injustice which impressed that invidious name on the simple votaries of St Paul and of Christ.

The simplicity of their belief and worship.

Of the ecclesiastical chain, many links had been broken by the Paulician reformers; and their liberty was enlarged, as they reduced the number of masters, at whose voice profane reason must bow to mystery and miracle. The early separation of the Gnostics had preceded the establishment of the catholic worship; and against the gradual innovations of discipline and doctrine, they were as strongly guarded by habit and aversion, as by the silence of St Paul and the evangelists. The objects which had been transformed by the magic of superstition, appeared to the eyes of the Paulicians in their genuine and naked colours. An image made without hands, was the common workmanship of a mortal artist, to whose skill alone the wood and canvass must be indebted for their merit or value. The miraculous relics were an heap of bones and ashes, destitute of life or virtue, or of any relation, perhaps, with the person to whom they were ascribed. The true and vivifying cross was a piece of sound or rotten timber; the body and blood of Christ, a loaf of bread and a cup of wine, the gifts of nature and the symbols of grace. The mother of God was degraded from her celestial honours and immaculate virginity; and the saints and angels were no longer solicited to exercise the laborious office of mediation in

CHAP. LIV.

heaven, and ministry upon earth. In the practice, or at least in the theory, of the sacraments, the Paulicians were inclined to abolish all visible objects of worship, and the words of the gospel were, in their judgment, the baptism and communion of the faithful. They indulged a convenient latitude for the interpretation of scripture; and as often as they were pressed by the literal sense, they could escape to the intricate mazes of figure and allegory. Their utmost diligence must have been employed to dissolve the connexion between the Old and the New Testament; since they adored the latter as the oracles of God, and abhorred the former, as the fabulous and absurd invention of men or dæmons. We cannot be surprised, that they should have found in the gospel, the orthodox mystery of the trinity; but instead of confessing the human nature and substantial sufferings of Christ, they amused their fancy with a celestial body that passed through the virgin like water through a pipe; with a phantastic crucifixion, that eluded the vain and impotent malice of the Jews. A creed thus simple and spiritual was not adapted to the genius of the times; and the rational Christian, who might have been contented with the light yoke and easy burthen of Jesus and his apostles, was justly offended, that the Paulicians should dare to violate the unity of God, the first article of natural and revealed religion. Their belief and their trust was in the Father, of Christ, of

They hold the two principles of the Magians and Manichæans.

[6] The six capital errors of the Paulicians are defined by Peter Siculus (p. 756) with much prejudice and passion.

the human soul, and of the invisible world. But they likewise held the eternity of matter; a stubborn and rebellious substance, the origin of a second principle, of an active being, who has created this visible world, and exercises his temporal reign till the final consummation of death and sin.[h] The appearances of moral and physical evil had established the two principles in the ancient philosophy and religion of the East; from whence this doctrine was transfused to the various swarms of the Gnostics. A thousand shades may be devised in the nature and character of *Ahriman*, from a rival god to a subordinate dæmon, from passion and frailty to pure and perfect malevolence[i]; but, in spite of our efforts, the goodness and the power of Ormusd are placed at the opposite extremities of the line; and every step that approaches the one must recede in equal proportion from the other.[i]

CHAP. LIV.

The apostolic labours of Constantine-Sylvanus soon multiplied the number of his disciples, the secret recompence of spiritual ambition. The remnant of the Gnostic sects, and especially the Manichæans of Armenia, were united under his standard; many catholics were converted or seduced by his arguments; and he preached

The establishment of the Paulicians in Armenia, Pontus, &c.

[h] Primum illorum axioma est, duo rerum esse principia; Deum malum et Deum bonum aliumque hujus mundi conditorem et principem, et alium futuri ævi Petr. Sicul. p. 756).

[i] Two learned critics, Beausobre (Hist. Critique du Manicheisme, l. i, 4, 5, 6) and Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. and de Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum, sec. i, ii, iii), have laboured to explore and discriminate the various systems of the Gnostics on the subject of the two principles.

CHAP. LIV.

with success in the regions of Pontus[k] and Cappadocia, which had long since imbibed the religion of Zoroaster. The Paulician teachers were distinguished only by their scriptural names, by the modest title of fellow-pilgrims, by the austerity of their lives, their zeal or knowledge, and the credit of some extraordinary gifts of the holy spirit. But they were incapable of desiring, or at least of obtaining, the wealth and honours of the catholic prelacy. Such anti-christian pride they bitterly censured; and even the rank of elders or presbyters was condemned as an institution of the Jewish synagogue. The new sect was loosely spread over the provinces of Asia Minor to the westward of the Euphrates: six of their principal congregations represented the churches to which St Paul had addressed his epistles; and their founder chose his residence in the neighbourhood of Colonia,[l] in the same district of Pontus which had been celebrated by the altars of Bellona[m] and the miracles of Gre-

[k] The countries between the Euphrates and the Halys were possessed above 850 years by the Medes (Herodot. l. i, c. 103) and Persians; and the kings of Pontus were of the royal race of the Achæmenides (Sallust. Fragment. l. iii, with the French supplement and notes of the president de Brosses).

[l] Most probably founded by Pompey after the conquest of Pontus. This Colonia, on the Lycus above Neo-Cæsarea, is named by the Turks Couleihisar, or Chonac, a populous town in a strong country (d'Anville Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii, p. 34. Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, tom. iii, lettre xxi, p. 293).

[m] The temple of Bellona at Comana, in Pontus, was a powerful and wealthy foundation, and the high priest was respected as the second person in the kingdom. As the sacerdotal office had been occupied by his mother's family, Strabo (l. xii, p. 809, 835, 836, 837) dwells

gory.[n] After a mission of twenty-seven years, Sylvanus, who had retired from the tolerating government of the Arabs, fell a sacrifice to Roman persecution. The laws of the pious emperors, which seldom touched the lives of less odious heretics, proscribed without mercy or disguise the tenets, the books, and the persons of the Montanists and Manichæans: the books were delivered to the flames; and all who should presume to secrete such writings, or to profess such opinions, were devoted to an ignominious death.[o] A Greek minister, armed with legal and military powers, appeared at Colonia to strike the shepherd, and to reclaim, if possible, the lost sheep. By a refinement of cruelty, Simeon placed the unfortunate Sylvanus before a line of his disciples, who were commanded, as the price of their pardon, and the proof of their repentance, to massacre their spiritual father. They turned aside from the impious office; the stones dropt from their filial hands, and of the whole number, only one executioner could be found, a new

CHAP. LIV.

Persecution of the Greek emperors.

with peculiar complacency on the temple, the worship, and festival which was twice celebrated every year. But the Bellona of Pontus had the features and character of the goddess, not of war, but of love.

[n] Gregory, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea (A. D. 240-265), surnamed Thaumaturgus, or the Wonder-worker. An hundred years afterwards, the history or romance of his life was composed by Gregory of Nyssa, his namesake and countryman, the brother of the great St Basil.

[o] Hoc cæterum ad sua egregia facinora, divini atque orthodox, Imperatores addiderunt, ut Manichæos Montanosque capitali puniri sententiâ jubèrent, eorumque libros, quocunque in loco inventi essent, flammis tradi; quod siquis aspium eosdem occultasse deprehenderetur, hunc eumdem mortis pœnæ addici, ejusque bona in fiscum inferi (Petr. Sicul. p. 759). What more could bigotry and persecution desire?

CHAP. LIV.

David, as he is styled by the catholics, who boldly overthrew the giant of heresy. This apostate, Justus was his name, again deceived and betrayed his unsuspecting brethren, and a new conformity to the acts of St Paul may be found in the conversion of Simeon: like the apostle, he embraced the doctrine which he had been sent to persecute, renounced his honours and fortunes, and acquired among the Paulicians the fame of a missionary and a martyr. They were not ambitious of martyrdom;[p] but in a calamitous period of one hundred and fifty years, their patience sustained whatever zeal could inflict; and power was insufficient to eradicate the obstinate vegetation of fanaticism and reason. From the blood and ashes of the first victims, a succession of teachers and congregations repeatedly arose: amidst their foreign hostilities, they found leisure for domestic quarrels: they preached, they disputed, they suffered; and the virtues, the apparent virtues, of Sergius, in a pilgrimage of thirty-three years, are reluctantly confessed by the orthodox historians.[q] The native cruelty of Justinian the second was stimulated by a pious cause; and he vainly hoped to extinguish, in a single confla-

[p] It should seem that the Paulicians allowed themselves some latitude of equivocation and mental reservation, till the catholics discovered the pressing questions, which reduced them to the alternative of apostacy or martyrdom (Petr. Sicul. p. 760).

[q] The persecution is told by Petrus Siculus (p. 579-763) with satisfaction and pleasantry. Justus *justa* persolvit. Simeon was not τιτος, but ηται (the pronunciation of the two vowels must have been nearly the same), a great whale that drowned the mariners who mistook him for an island. See likewise Cedrenus (p. 432-435).

gration the name and memory of the Paulicians. By their primitive simplicity, their abhorrence of popular superstition, the Iconoclast princes might have been reconciled to some erroneous doctrines; but they themselves were exposed to the calumnies of the monks, and they chose to be the tyrants, lest they should be accused as the accomplices, of the Manichæans. Such a reproach has sullied the clemency of Nicephorus, who relaxed in their favour the severity of the penal statutes; nor will his character sustain the honour of a more liberal motive. The feeble Michael the First, the rigid Leo the Armenian, were foremost in the race of persecution; but the prize must doubtless be adjudged to the sanguinary devotion of Theodora, who restored the images to the Oriental church. Her inquisitors explored the cities and mountains of the Lesser Asia, and the flatterers of the empress have affirmed, that, in a short reign, one hundred thousand Paulicians were extirpated by the sword, the gibbet, or the flames. Her guilt or merit has perhaps been stretched beyond the measure of truth; but if the account be allowed, it must be presumed that many simple Iconoclasts were punished under a more odious name, and that some who were driven from the church, unwillingly took refuge in the bosom of heresy.

Revolt of the Paulicians, A. D. 845-880.

The most furious and desperate of rebels are the sectaries of a religion long persecuted, and at length provoked. In an holy cause they are no longer susceptible of fear or remorse: the justice of their arms hardens them against the feelings

CHAP. LIV.

of humanity; and they revenge their fathers' wrongs, on the children of their tyrants. Such have been the Hussites of Bohemia and the Calvinists of France, and such, in the ninth century, were the Paulicians of Armenia and the adjacent provinces.[r] They were first awakened to the massacre of a governor and bishop, who exercised the imperial mandate of converting or destroying the heretics; and the deepest recesses of mount Argæus protected their independence and revenge. A more dangerous and consuming flame was kindled by the persecution of Theodora, and the revolt of Carbeas, a valiant Paulician, who commanded the guards of the general of the East. His father had been impaled by the catholic inquisitors; and religion, or at least nature, might justify his desertion and revenge. Five thousand of his brethren were united by the same motives; they renounced the allegiance of antichristian Rome; a Saracen emir introduced Carbeas to the caliph; and the commander of the faithful extended his sceptre to the implacable enemy of the Greeks. In the mountain between Sewas and Trebizond, he founded or fortified the city of Tephrice,[s] which is still occupied by a fierce and licentious people, and the neighbouring hills were covered with the Paulician fugitives, who now reconciled

They fortify Tephrice,

[r] Petrus Siculus (p. 763, 764), the continuator of Theophanes (l. iv, c. 4, p. 103, 104), Cedrenus (p. 541, 542, 545), and Zonoras (tom. ii, l. xvi, p. 156), describe the revolt and exploits of Carbeas and his Paulicians.

[s] Otter (Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, tom. ii) is probably the only Frank who has visited the independent barbarians of Tephrice, now Divrigni, from whom he fortunately escaped in the train of a Turkish officer.

the use of the bible and the sword. During more than thirty years, Asia was afflicted by the calamities of foreign and domestic war: in their hostile inroads the disciples of St Paul were joined with those of Mahomet; and the peaceful Christians, the aged parent and tender virgin, who were delivered into barbarous servitude, might justly accuse the intolerant spirit of their sovereign. So urgent was the mischief, so intolerable the shame, that even the dissolute Michael, the son of Theodora, was compelled to march in person against the Paulicians: he was defeated under the walls of Samasata; and the Roman emperor fled before the heretics whom his mother had condemned to the flames. The Saracens fought under the same banners, but the victory was ascribed to Carbeas; and the captive generals, with more than an hundred tribunes, were either released by his avarice, or tortured by his fanaticism. The valour and ambition of Chrysocheir,[t] his successor, embraced a wider circle of rapine and revenge. In alliance with his faithful Moslems, he boldly penetrated into the heart of Asia; the troops of the frontier and the palace were repeatedly overthrown; the edicts of persecution were answered by the pillage of Nice and Nicomedia, of Ancyra and Ephesus; nor could the apostle St John protect from violation his city and sepulchre. The ca-

[t] In the history of Chrysocheir, Genesius (Chron. p. 67-70, edit. Venet.) has exposed the nakedness of the empire. Constantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Basil. c. 87-89, p. 160-171) has displayed the glory of his grandfather. Cedrenus (p. 570-573) is without their passions or their knowledge.

CHAP. LIV.

thedral of Ephesus was turned into a stable for mules and horses; and the Paulicians vied with the Saracens in their contempt and abhorrence of images and relics. It is not unpleasing to observe the triumph of rebellion over the same despotism which has disdained the prayers of an injured people. The emperor Basil, the Macedonian, was reduced to sue for peace, to offer a ransom for the captives, and to request, in the language of moderation and charity, that Chrysocheir would spare his fellow-christians, and content himself with a royal donative of gold and silver and silk garments. "If the emperor," replied the insolent fanatic, "be desirous of "peace, let him abdicate the East, and reign "without molestation in the West. If he refuse, "the servants of the Lord will precipitate him "from the throne." The reluctant Basil suspended the treaty, accepted the defiance, and led his army into the land of heresy, which he wasted with fire and sword. The open country of the Paulicians was exposed to the same calamities which they had inflicted; but when he had explored the strength of Tephrice, the multitude of the barbarians, and the ample magazines of arms and provisions, he desisted with a sigh from the hopeless siege. On his return to Constantinople he laboured, by the foundation of convents and churches, to secure the aid of his celestial patrons, of Michael the archangel and the prophet Elijah; and it was his daily prayer that he might live to transpierce, with three arrows, the head of his impious adversary. Beyond his expectations, the wish was accomplished:

after a successful inroad, Chrysocheir was surprised and slain in his retreat; and the rebel's head was triumphantly presented at the foot of the throne. On the reception of this welcome trophy, Basil instantly called for his bow, discharged three arrows with unerring aim, and accepted the applause of the court, who hailed the victory of the royal archer. With Chrysocheir, the glory of the Paulicians faded and withered;[u] on the second expedition of the emperor, the impregnable Tephrice was deserted by the heretics, who sued for mercy or escaped to the borders. The city was ruined, but the spirit of independence survived in the mountains; the Paulicians defended, above a century, their religion and liberty, infested the Roman limits, and maintained their perpetual alliance with the enemies of the empire and the gospel.

CHAP. LIV.

Their decline.

About the middle of the eighth century, Constantine, surnamed Copronymus by the worshippers of images, had made an expedition into Armenia, and found in the cities of Melitene and Theodosiopolis, a great number of Paulicians, his kindred heretics. As a favour or punishment, he transplanted them from the banks of the Euphrates to Constantinople and Thrace; and by this emigration their doctrine was introduced and diffused in Europe.[x] If the sectaries of the

Their transplantation from Armenia to Thrace.

[u] Συναπεμαράνθη πασα ἡ αἰθουσα της Τεφρικης τυραννιδος. How elegant is the Greek tongue, even in the mouth of Cedrenus!

[x] Copronymus transported his συγγενεις, heretics; and thus πολλαπλασιασθεν ἡ αιρεσις Παυλικιανων, says Cedrenus (p. 401), who has copied the annals of Theophanes.

CHAP. LIV.

metropolis were soon mingled with the promiscuous mass, those of the country struck a deep root in a foreign soil. The Paulicians of Thrace resisted the storms of persecution, maintained a secret correspondence with their Armenian brethren, and gave aid and comfort to their preachers, who solicited, not without success, the infant faith of the Bulgarians.[r] In the tenth century, they were restored and multiplied by a more powerful colony, which John Zimisces,[s] transported from the Chalybian hills, to the valleys of Mount Hæmus. The oriental clergy, who would have preferred the destruction, impatiently sighed for the absence, of the Manichæans; the warlike emperor had felt and esteemed their valour: their attachment to the Saracens was pregnant with mischief; but, on the side of the Danube, against the barbarians of Scythia, their service might be useful, and their loss would be desirable. Their exile in a distant land was softened by a free toleration: the Paulicians held the city of Philippopolis and the keys of Thrace; the catholics were their subjects; the jacobite emigrants their associates; they occupied a line of villages and castles in Macedonia and Epirus; and many native Bulgarians were associated to the communion of arms and heresy. As long as

[r] Petrus Siculus, who resided nine months at Tephrice (A. D. 870) for the ransom of captives (p. 764), was informed of their intended mission, and addressed his preservative, the Historia Manichæorum, to the new archbishop of the Bulgarians (p. 754).

[s] The colony of Paulicians and Jacobites transplanted by John Zimisces (A. D. 970) from Armenia to Thrace, is mentioned by Zonaras (tom. ii, l. xvii, p. 209) and Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. xiv, p. 450, &c.)

CHAP. LIV.

they were awed by power and treated with moderation, their voluntary bands were distinguished in the armies of the empire: and the courage of these *dogs*, ever greedy of war, ever thirsty of human blood, is noticed with astonishment, and almost with reproach, by the pusillanimous Greeks. The same spirit rendered them arrogant and contumacious: they were easily provoked by caprice or injury; and their privileges were often violated by the faithless bigotry of the government and clergy. In the midst of the Norman war, two thousand five hundred Manichæans deserted the standard of Alexius Comnenus,[a] and retired to their native homes. He dissembled till the moment of revenge; invited the chiefs to a friendly conference; and punished the innocent and guilty by imprisonment, confiscation, and baptism. In an interval of peace, the emperor undertook the pious office of reconciling them to the church and state: his winter-quarters were fixed at Philippopolis; and the thirteenth apostle, as he is styled by his pious daughter, consumed whole days and nights in theological controversy. His arguments were fortified, their obstinacy was melted, by the honours and rewards which he bestowed on the most eminent proselytes; and a new city, surrounded with gardens, enriched with immunities, and dignified with his own name, was founded by

[a] The Alexiad of Anna Comnena (l. v, p. 131, l. vi, p. 154, 155, l. xiv, p. 450-457, with the annotations of Ducange) records the transactions of her apostolic father with the Manichæans, whose abominable heresy she was desirous of refuting.

CHAP. LIV.

Alexius, for the residence of his vulgar converts. The important station of Philippopolis was wrested from their hands; the contumacious leaders were secured in a dungeon, or banished from their country; and their lives were spared by the prudence, rather than the mercy, of an emperor, at whose command a poor and solitary heretic was burnt alive before the church of St Sophia.[b] But the proud hope of eradicating the prejudices of a nation was speedily overturned by the invincible zeal of the Paulicians, who ceased to dissemble or refused to obey. After the departure and death of Alexius, they soon resumed their civil and religious laws. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, their pope or primate (a manifest corruption) resided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed, by his vicars, the filial congregations of Italy and France.[c] From that æra, a minute scrutiny might prolong and perpetuate the chain of tradition. At the end of the last age, the sect or colony still inhabited the vallies of mount Hæmus, where their ignorance and poverty were more frequently tormented by the Greek clergy than by the Turkish government. The modern Paulicians have lost all memory of their origin; and their

[b] Basil, a monk, and the author of the Bogomiles, a sect of Gnostics, who soon vanished (Anna Comnena, Alexiad, l. xv, p. 486-494. Mosheim, Hist. Ecclesiastica, p 420).

[c] Matt. Paris, Hist. Major, p. 267. This passage of our English historian is alleged by Ducange in an excellent note on Villehardouin (No. 208), who found the Paulicians at Philippopolis the friends of the Bulgarians.

religion is disgraced by the worship of the cross, and the practice of bloody sacrifice, which some captives have imported from the wilds of Tartary.[d] CHAP. LIV.

In the West, the first teachers of the Manichæan theology had been repulsed by the people, or suppressed by the prince. The favour and success of the Paulicians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries must be imputed to the strong, though secret, discontent which armed the most pious Christians against the church of Rome. Her avarice was oppressive, her despotism odious: less degenerate perhaps than the Greeks in the worship of saints and images, her innovations were more rapid and scandalous: she had rigorously defined and imposed the doctrine of transubstantiation: the lives of the Latin clergy were more corrupt, and the Eastern bishops might pass for the successors of the apostles, if they were compared with the lordly prelates, who wielded by turns the crozier, the sceptre, and the sword. Three different roads might introduce the Paulicians into the heart of Europe. After the conversion of Hungary, the pilgrims who visited Jerusalem might safely follow the course of the Danube: in their journey and return they passed through Philippopolis; and the sectaries, disguising their name and heresy, might accompany the French or German caravans to their respective countries. The trade and dominion of Venice pervaded the coast of the Adriatic, and the hospitable republic opened her bosom to

Their introduction into Italy and France.

[d] See Marsigli, Stato Militare dell' Impero Ottomano, p. 24.

CHAP. LIV.

foreigners of every climate and religion. Under the Byzantine standard, the Paulicians were often transported to the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily; in peace and war they freely conversed with strangers and natives, and their opinions were silently propagated in Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms beyond the Alps.[e] It was soon discovered, that many thousand catholics of every rank, and of either sex, had embraced the Manichæan heresy; and the flames which consumed twelve canons of Orleans, was the first act and signal of persecution. The Bulgarians,[f] a name so innocent in its origin, so odious in its application, spread their branches over the face of Europe. United in common hatred of idolatry and Rome, they were connected by a form of episcopal and presbyterian government; their various sects were discriminated by some fainter or darker shades of theology; but they generally agreed in the two principles, the contempt of the Old Testament,

[e] The introduction of the Paulicians into Italy and France, is amply discussed by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. v, dissert. lx, p. 81-152), and Mosheim (p. 379-382, 419-422). Yet both have overlooked a curious passage of William the Apulian, who clearly describes them in a battle between the Greeks and Normans, A. D. 1040 (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. v, p. 256).

Cum Græcis aderant, quidem quos pessimus error,
Fecerat amentes, et ab ipso nomen habebant.

But he is so ignorant of their doctrine, as to make them a kind of Sabellians or Patripassians.

[f] *Bulgari*, *Boulgres*, *Bougres*, a national appellation, has been applied by the French as a term of reproach to usurers and unnatural sinners. The *Paterini*, or *Patelini*, has been made to signify a smooth and flattering hypocrite, such as *l'Avocat Patelin* of that original and pleasant farce (Ducange Gloss. Latinitat. medii et infimi Ævi). The Manichæans were likewise named *Cathari*, or the pure, by corruption, *Gazari*, &c.

CHAP. LIV.

and the denial of the body of Christ, either on the cross or in the eucharist. A confession of simple worship and blameless manners is extorted from their enemies; and so high was their standard of perfection, that the increasing congregations were divided into two classes of disciples, of those who practised, and of those who aspired. It was in the country of the Albigeois,[g] in the southern provinces of France, that the Paulicians were most deeply implanted; and the same vicissitudes of martyrdom and revenge which had been displayed in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, were repeated in the thirteenth century on the banks of the Rhone. The laws of the eastern emperors were revived by Frederic the Second. The insurgents of Tephrice were represented by the barons and cities of Languedoc. Pope Innocent III. surpassed the sanguinary fame of Theodora. It was in cruelty alone that her soldiers could equal the heroes of the crusades, and the cruelty of her priests was far excelled by the founders of the inquisition;[h] an office more adapted to confirm, than to refute, the belief of an evil principle. The visible assemblies

Persecution of the Albigeois, A. D. 1200, &c.

[g] Of the laws, crusade, and persecution, against the Albigeois, a just, though general idea, is expressed by Mosheim (p. 477-481). The detail may be found in the ecclesiastical historians, ancient and modern, catholics and protestants; and amongst these Fleury is the most impartial and moderate.

[h] The Acts (Liber Sententiarum of the inquisition of Tholouse A. D. 1307-1323), have been published by Limborch (Amstelodami, 1692), with a previous History of the Inquisition in general. They deserved a more learned and critical editor. As we must not calumniate even Satan, or the Holy Office, I will observe, that of a list of criminals which fills nineteen folio pages, only fifteen men and four women were delivered to the secular arm.

CHAP. LIV.

of the Paulicians, or Albigeois, were extirpated by fire and sword; and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or catholic conformity. But the invincible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the Western world. In the state, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of St Paul; who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology. The struggles of Wickliff in England, of Huss in Bohemia, were premature and ineffectual; but the names of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin, are pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations.

Character and consequences of the reformation.

A philosopher, who calculates the degree of their merit and the value of their reformation, will prudently ask from what articles of faith, *above* or *against* our reason, they have enfranchised the Christians; for such enfranchisement is doubtless a benefit so far as it may be compatible with truth and piety. After a fair discussion we shall rather be surprised by the timidity, than scandalized by the freedom, of our first reformers.[1] With the Jews, they adopted the belief and defence of all the Hebrew scriptures, with all their prodigies, from the garden of Eden to the visions of the prophet Daniel; and they were bound, like the catholics, to justify against the Jews the abolition of a divine law. In the great

[1] The opinions and proceedings of the reformers are exposed in the second part of the general history of Mosheim: but the balance, which he has held with so clear an eye, and so steady an hand, begins to incline in favour of his Lutheran brethren.

mysteries of the trinity and incarnation the reformers were severely orthodox: they freely adopted the theology of the four, or the six first councils; and with the Athanasian creed, they pronounced the eternal damnation of all who did not believe the catholic faith. Transubstantiation, the invisible change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is a tenet that may defy the power of argument and pleasantry; but instead of consulting the evidence of their senses, of their sight, their feeling, and their taste, the first protestants were entangled in their own scruples, and awed by the words of Jesus in the institution of the sacrament. Luther maintained a *corporeal*, and Calvin a *real*, presence of Christ in the eucharist; and the opinion of Zuinglius, that it is no more than a spiritual communion, a simple memorial, has slowly prevailed in the reformed churches.[k] But the loss of one mystery was amply compensated by the stupendous doctrines of original sin, redemption, faith, grace, and predestination, which have been strained from the epistles of St Paul. These subtle questions had most assuredly been prepared by the fathers and schoolmen; but the final improvement and popular use may be attributed to the first reformers, who enforced them as the absolute and essential terms of salvation. Hitherto the weight of supernatural belief inclines against

[k] Under Edward VI. our reformation was more bold and perfect: but in the fundamental articles of the church of England, a strong and explicit declaration against the real presence was obliterated in the original copy, to please the people, or the Lutherans, or Queen Elizabeth (Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii, p. 82, 190, 302).

CHAP. LIV.

the protestants, and many a sober Christian would rather admit that a wafer is God, than that God is a cruel and capricious tyrant.

Yet the services of Luther and his rivals are solid and important; and the philosopher must own his obligations to these fearless enthusiasts.[1] I. By their hands the lofty fabric of superstition, from the abuse of indulgences to the intercession of the Virgin, has been levelled with the ground. Myriads of both sexes of the monastic profession were restored to the liberty and labours of social life. An hierarchy of saints and angels, of imperfect and subordinate deities were stripped of their temporal power, and reduced to the enjoyment of celestial happiness: their images and relics were banished from the church; and the credulity of the people was no longer nourished with the daily repetition of miracles and visions. The imitation of paganism was supplied by a pure and spiritual worship of prayer and thanksgiving, the most worthy of man, the least unworthy of the deity. It only remains to observe, whether such sublime simplicity be consistent with popular devotion; whether the vulgar, in the absence of all visible objects, will not be inflamed by enthusiasm, or insensibly subside in languor and indifference. II. The chain of authority was broken, which restrains the bigot from thinking as he pleases, and the slave from speaking as he thinks: the popes, fathers, and councils, were no longer the supreme and infal-

[1] "Had it not been for such men as Luther and myself," said the fanatic Whiston to Halley the philosopher, "you would now be kneeling before an image of St Winifred."

lible judges of the world; and each Christian was taught to acknowledge no law but the scriptures, no interpreter but his own conscience. This freedom, however, was the consequence, rather than the design, of the reformation. The patriot reformers were ambitious of succeeding the tyrants whom they had dethroned. They imposed with equal rigour their creeds and confessions; they asserted the right of the magistrate to punish heretics with death. The pious or personal animosity of Calvin proscribed in Servetus[m] the guilt of his own rebellion:[n] and the flames of Smithfield, in which he was afterwards consumed, had been kindled for the anabaptists by the zeal of Cranmer.[o] The nature of the tyger was the same, but he was gradually deprived of his teeth and fangs. A spiritual and temporal kingdom was possessed by the Roman pontiff:

[m] The article of *Servet* in the Dictionnaire Critique of Chauffepié, is the best account which I have seen of this shameful transaction. See likewise the Abbé d'Artigny, Nouveaux Memoires d'Histoire, &c. tom. ii, p. 88-151.

[n] I am more deeply scandalized at the single execution of Servetus, than at the hetacombs which have blazed in the Auto da Fès of Spain and Portugal. 1. The zeal of Calvin seems to have been envenomed by personal malice, and perhaps envy. He accused his adversary before their common enemies, the judges of Vienna, and betrayed, for his destruction, the sacred trust of a private correspondence. 2. The deed of cruelty was not varnished by the pretence of danger to the church or state. In his passage through Geneva, Servetus was an harmless stranger, who neither preached, nor printed, nor made proselytes. 3. A catholic inquisitor yields the same obedience which he requires, but Calvin violated the golden rule of doing as he would be done by; a rule which I read in a moral treatise of Isocrates (in Nicole, tom. i, p. 93, edit. Battie), four hundred years before the publication of the gospel. Α πασχοντες υφ' ετερων εργιζεσθε, ταυτα τοις αλλοις μη ποιειτε.

[o] See Burnet, vol. ii, p. 84-86. The sense and humanity of the young king were oppressed by the authority of the primate.

CHAP. LIV. the protestant doctors were subjects of an humble rank, without revenue or jurisdiction. *His* decrees were consecrated by the antiquity of the catholic church: *their* arguments and disputes were submitted to the people; and their appeal to private judgment was accepted beyond their wishes, by curiosity and enthusiasm. Since the days of Luther and Calvin, a secret reformation has been silently working in the bosom of the reformed churches; many weeds of prejudice were eradicated; and the disciples of Erasmus[p] diffused a spirit of freedom and moderation. The liberty of conscience has been claimed as a common benefit, an inalienable right:[q] the free governments of Holland[r] and England[s] introduced the practice of toleration; and the narrow allowance of the laws has been enlarged by the prudence and humanity of the times. In the exercise, the mind has understood the limits of its powers, and the

[p] Erasmus may be considered as the father of rational theology. After a slumber of an hundred years, it was revived by the Arminians of Holland, Grotius, Limborch, and Le Clerc: in England by Chillingworth, the latitudinarians of Cambridge (Burnet, Hist. of own Times, vol. i, p. 261-268, octavo edition), Tillotson, Clarke, Hoadley, &c.

[q] I am sorry to observe, that the three writers of the last age, by whom the rights of toleration have been so nobly defended, Bayle, Leibnitz, and Locke, are all laymen and philosophers.

[r] See the excellent chapter of Sir William Temple on the religion of the united provinces. I am not satisfied with Grotius (de Reipub. Belgicis, Annal. l. i, p. 13, 14, edit. in 12mo), who approves the imperial laws of persecution, and only condemns the bloody tribunal of the inquisition.

[s] Sir William Blackstone (Commentaries, vol. iv, p. 53, 54) explains the law of England as it was fixed at the revolution. The exceptions of papists, and of those who deny the trinity, would still leave a tolerable scope for persecution, if the national spirit were not more effectual than an hundred statutes.

words and shadows that might amuse the child can no longer satisfy his manly reason. The volumes of controversy are overspread with cobwebs: the doctrine of a protestant church is far removed from the knowledge or belief of its private members; and the forms of orthodoxy, the articles of faith, are subscribed with a sigh or a smile by the modern clergy. Yet the friends of Christianity are alarmed at the boundless impulse of enquiry and scepticism. The predictions of the catholics are accomplished: the web of mystery is unravelled by the Arminians, Arians, and Socinians, whose numbers must not be computed from their separate congregations; and the pillars of revelation are shaken by those men who preserve the name without the substance of religion, who indulge the licence without the temper of philosophy.* CHAP. LIV.

* I shall recommend to public animadversion two passages in Dr Priestley, which betray the ultimate tendency of his opinions. At the first of these (Hist. of the Corruptions of Christianity, vol. i, p. 275, 276), the priest, at the second (vol. i, p. 484) the magistrate, may tremble!

CHAP. LV.

The Bulgarians.—Origin, migrations, and settlement of the Hungarians.—Their inroads in the East and West.—The monarchy of Russia.—Geography and trade.—Wars of the Russians against the Greek empire.—Conversion of the barbarians.

CHAP. LV.

UNDER the reign of Constantine, the grandson of Heraclius, the ancient barrier of the Danube, so often violated and so often restored, was irretrievably swept away by a new deluge of barbarians. Their progress was favoured by the caliphs, their unknown and accidental auxiliaries: the Roman legions were occupied in Asia; and after the loss of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the Cæsars were twice reduced to the danger and disgrace of defending their capital against the Saracens. If, in the account of this interesting people, I have deviated from the strict and original line of my undertaking, the merit of the subject will hide my transgression or solicit my excuse. In the East, in the West, in war, in religion, in science, in their prosperity, and in their decay, the Arabians press themselves on our curiosity: the first overthrow of the church and empire of the Greeks may be imputed to their arms, and the disciples of Mahomet still hold the civil and religious sceptre of the oriental world. But the same labour would be unworthily bestowed on the swarms of savages, who, between the seventh

CHAP. LV.

and the twelfth century, descended from the plains of Scythia, in transient inroad or perpetual emigration.[a] Their names are uncouth, their origins doubtful, their actions obscure, their superstition was blind, their valour brutal, and the uniformity of their public and private lives was neither softened by innocence nor refined by policy. The majesty of the Byzantine throne repelled and survived their disorderly attacks; the greater part of these barbarians has disappeared without leaving any memorial of their existence, and the despicable remnant continues, and may long continue, to groan under the dominion of a foreign tyrant. From the antiquities of, I. *Bulgarians*, II. *Hungarians*, and III. *Russians*, I shall content myself with selecting such facts as yet deserve to be remembered. The conquests of the, IV. *Normans*, and the monarchy of the, V. *Turks*, will naturally terminate in the memorable crusades to the Holy Land, and the double fall of the city and empire of Constantine.

Emigration of the Bulgarians, A. D. 680, &c.

In his march to Italy, Theodoric[b] the Ostrogoth had trampled on the arms of the Bulgarians. After this defeat, the name and the nation are lost during a century and an half; and it may be suspected that the same or a similar appella-

[a] *All* the passages of the Byzantine history which relate to the barbarians, are compiled, methodised, and transcribed, in a Latin version, by the laborious John Gotthelf Stritter, in his "Memoriæ Populorum ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, Paludem Mæotidem, Caucasum, Mare Caspium, et inde magis ad Septentriones incolentium," Petropoli. 1771-1779; in four tomes, or six volumes, in 4to. But the fashion has not enhanced the price of these raw materials.

[b] Hist. vol. vii, p. 12.

CHAP. LV.

tion was revived by strange colonies from the Borysthenes, the Tanais, or the Volga. A king of the ancient Bulgaria[c] bequeathed to his five sons a last lesson of moderation and concord. It was received as youth has ever received the counsels of age and experience; the five princes buried their father; divided his subjects and cattle; forgot his advice; separated from each other; and wandered in quest of fortune, till we find the most adventurous in the heart of Italy, under the protection of the ex-arch of Ravenna.[d] But the stream of emigration was directed or impelled towards the capital. The modern Bulgaria, along the southern banks of the Danube, was stamped with the name and image which it has retained to the present hour: the new conquerors successively acquired, by war or treaty, the Roman provinces of Dardania, Thessaly, and the two Epirus';[e] the ecclesiastical supremacy was translated from the native city of Justinian; and, in their prosperous age, the obscure town of Lychnidus, or Achrida, was ho-

[c] Theophanes, p. 296-299. Anastasius, p. 113. Nicephorus, c. p. 22, 23. Theophanes places the old Bulgaria on the banks of the Atell or Volga; but he deprives himself of all geographical credit by discharging that river into the Euxine sea.

[d] Paul. Diacon. de Gestis Langobard. l. v, c. 29, p. 881, 882. The apparent difference between the Lombard historian and the above-mentioned Greeks is easily reconciled by Camillo Pellegrino (de Ducatû Beneventano, dissert. vii, in the Scriptores Rerum Ital. tom. v, p. 186, 187), and Beretti (Chorograph. Italiæ medii Ævi, p. 273, &c.). This Bulgarian colony was planted in a vacant district of Samnium, and learned the Latin, without forgetting their native language.

[e] These provinces of the Greek idiom and empire, are assigned to the Bulgarian kingdom in the dispute of ecclesiastical jurisdiction between the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople (Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 869, No. 75).

noured with the throne of a king and a patriarch.[f] The unquestionable evidence of language attests the descent of the Bulgarians from the original stock of the Sclavonian, or more properly Slavonian race;[g] and the kindred bands of Servians, Bosnians, Rascians, Croatians, Walachians,[h] &c. followed either the standard or the example of the leading tribe. From the Euxine to the Adriatic, in the state of captives or subjects, or allies or enemies, of the Greek empire, they overspread the land; and the national appellation of the *slaves*[i] has been degraded by chance or malice from the signification of glory to that of servitude.[k] Among these colonies, the CHAP. LV.

[f] The situation and royalty of Lychnidus, or Achrida, are clearly expressed in Cedrenus (p. 718). The removal of an archbishop or patriarch from Justiniana prima, to Lychnidus, and at length to Ternovo, has produced some perplexity in the ideas or language of the Greeks (Nicephorus Gregoras, l. ii, c. 2, p. 14, 15. Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i, l. i, c. 19, 23); and a Frenchman (d'Anville) is more accurately skilled in the geography of their own country (Hist. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxxi).

[g] Chalcocondyles, a competent judge, affirms the identity of the language of the Dalmatians, Bosnians, Servians, *Bulgarians*, Poles (de Rebus Turcicis, l. x, p. 283), and elsewhere of the Bohemians (l. ii, p. 38). The same author has marked the separate idiom of the Hungarians.

[h] See the work of John Christopher de Jordan, de Originibus Sclavicis, Vindobonæ, 1745, in four parts, or two volumes in folio. His collections and researches are useful to elucidate the antiquities of Bohemia and the adjacent countries; but his plan is narrow, his style barbarous, his criticism shallow, and the Aulic counsellor is not free from the prejudices of a Bohemian.

[i] Jordan subscribes to the well-known and probable derivation from *slava*, *laus*, *gloria*, a word of familiar use in the different dialects and parts of speech, and which forms the termination of the most illustrious names (de Originibus Sclavicis, pars i, p. 40, pars iv, p. 101, 102).

[k] This conversion of a national into an appellative name appears to have arisen in the eighth century, in the oriental France, where

CHAP. LV.

Croats or Sclavonians of Dalmatia, A. D. 900, &c.

Chrobatians,[1] or Croats, who now attend the motions of an Austrian army, are the descendants of a mighty people, the conquerors and sovereigns of Dalmatia. The maritime cities, and of these the infant republic of Ragusa, implored the aid and instructions of the Byzantine court: they were advised by the magnanimous Basil to reserve a small acknowledgment of their fidelity to the Roman empire, and to appease, by an annual tribute, the wrath of these irresistible barbarians. The kingdom of Croatia was shared by eleven *Zoupans*, or feudatory lords; and their united forces were numbered at sixty thousand horse and one hundred thousand foot. A long sea-coast, indented with capacious harbours, covered with a string of islands, and almost in sight of the Italian shores, disposed both the natives and strangers to the practice of navigation. The boats or brigantines of the Croats were constructed after the fashion of the old Liburnians: one hundred and eighty vessels may excite the idea of a respectable navy; but our seamen will smile at the allowance of ten, or twenty, or forty, men for each of these ships of war. They were gradually converted to the more honourable service of commerce: yet the Sclavonian pirates

the princes and bishops were rich in Sclavonian captives, not of the Bohemian (exclaims Jordan), but of Sorabian race. From thence the word was extended to general use, to the modern languages, and even to the style of the last Byzantines (see the Greek and Latin Glossaries of Ducange). The confusion of the Σκλαι, or Servians, with the Latin *Servi*, was still more fortunate and familiar (Constant. Porphyr. de administrando Imperio, c. 32, p. 99).

[1] The emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, most accurate for his own times, most fabulous for preceding ages, describes the Sclavonians of Dalmatia (c. 29-36).

were still frequent and dangerous; and it was not before the close of the tenth century that the freedom and sovereignty of the gulph were effectually vindicated by the Venetian republic.[m] The ancestors of these Dalmatian kings were equally removed from the use and abuse of navigation: they dwelt in the White Croatia, in the inland regions of Silesia and Little Poland, thirty days' journey, according to the Greek computation, from the sea of darkness.

First kingdom of the Bulgarians, A. D. 610-1017.

The glory of the Bulgarians[n] was confined to a narrow scope both of time and place. In the ninth and tenth centuries, they reigned to the south of the Danube; but the more powerful nations that had followed their emigration, repelled all return to the north and all progress to the west. Yet, in the obscure catalogue of their exploits, they might boast an honour which had hitherto been appropriated to the Goths; that of slaying in battle one of the successors of Augustus and Constantine. The emperor Nicephorus had lost his fame in the Arabian, he lost his life in the Sclevonian, war. In his first operations he advanced with boldness and success into the centre of Bulgaria, and burnt the *royal court*, which was probably no more than an edifice and

[m] See the anonymous Chronicle of the eleventh century, ascribed to John Sagorninus, p. 94-104, and that composed in the fourteenth, by the Doge Andrew Dandolo (Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xii, p. 247-280); the two oldest monuments of the history of Venice.

[n] The first kingdom of the Bulgarians may be found, under the proper dates, in the annals of Cedrenus and Zonaras. The Byzantine materials are collected by Stritter (Memoriæ Populorum, tom. ii, pars ii, p. 441-617): and the series of their kings is disposed and settled by Ducange (Fam. Byzant. p. 95-116).

CHAP. LV.

village of timber. But, while he searched the spoil and refused all offers of treaty, his enemies collected their spirits and their forces: the passes of retreat were insuperably barred; and the trembling Nicephorus was heard to exclaim: "Alas, "alas! unless we could assume the wings of "birds, we cannot hope to escape." Two days he waited his fate in the inactivity of despair; but, on the morning of the third, the Bulgarians surprised the camp; and the Roman prince, with the great officers of the empire, were slaughtered in their tents. The body of Valens had been saved from insult; but the head of Nicephorus was exposed on a spear, and his skull, enchased with gold, was often replenished in the feasts of victory. The Greeks bewailed the dishonour of the throne; but they acknowledged the just punishment of avarice and cruelty. This savage cup was deeply tinctured with the manners of the Scythian wilderness; but they were softened before the end of the same century by a peaceful intercourse with the Greeks, the possession of a cultivated region, and the introduction of the christian worship. The nobles of Bulgaria were educated in the schools and palace of Constantinople; and Simeon,* a youth of the royal line, was instructed in the rhetoric of Demosthenes and the logic of Aristotle. He relinquished the profession of a monk for that of a king and war-

A. D. 811.

A. D. 888-927, or 932.

* Simeonem semi-Græcum esse niobunt, eò quòd à pueritiâ Byzantii Demosthenis rhetoricam et Aristotelis syllogismos didicerat. Liutprand, l. iii, c. 8. He says in another place, Simeon, fortis bellator, Bulgariæ præerat; Christianus sed vicinis Græcis valdè inimicus (l. i, c. 2).

rior; and in his reign, of more than forty years, Bulgaria assumed a rank among the civilized powers of the earth. The Greeks, whom he repeatedly attacked, derived a faint consolation from indulging themselves in the reproaches of perfidy and sacrilege. They purchased the aid of the pagan Turks; but Simeon, in a second battle, redeemed the loss of the first, at a time when it was esteemed a victory to elude the arms of that formidable nation. The Servians were overthrown, made captive, and dispersed; and those who visited the country before their restoration could discover no more than fifty vagrants, without women or children, who extorted a precarious subsistence from the chace. On classic ground, on the banks of the Achelous, the Greeks were defeated: their horn was broken by the strength of the barbaric Hercules.[p] He formed the siege of Constantinople; and, in a personal conference with the emperor, Simeon imposed the conditions of peace. They met with the most jealous precautions; the royal galley was drawn close to an artificial and well-fortified platform; and the majesty of the purple was emulated by the pomp of the Bulgarian. "Are "you a Christian?" said the humble Romanus; "It is your duty to abstain from the blood of "your fellow-christians. Has the thirst of riches "seduced you from the blessings of peace? "Sheath your sword, open your hand, and I

CHAP. LV.

[p] ——Rigidum sera dextera cornu
Dum tenet infregit, truncisque a fronte revellit.
Ovid (Metamorph. ix. 1-100), has boldly painted the combat of the river-god and the hero; the native and the stranger.

CHAP. LV.

"will satiate the utmost measure of your ăc-
"sires." The reconciliation was sealed by a do-
mestic alliance; the freedom of trade was grant-
ed or restored; the first honours of the court
were secured to the friends of Bulgaria, above
the ambassadors of enemies or strangers;[q] and
her princes were dignified with the high and in-
A. D. 950, &c. vidious title of *basileus*, or emperor. But this
friendship was soon disturbed: after the death
of Simeon, the nations were again in arms; his
feeble successors were divided and extinguish-
ed; and, in the beginning of the eleventh cen-
tury, the second Basil, who was born in the pur-
ple, deserved the appellation of conqueror of the
Bulgarians. His avarice was in some measure
gratified by a treasure of four hundred thousand
pounds sterling (ten thousand pounds weight of
gold), which he found in the palace of Lychni-
dus. His cruelty inflicted a cool and exquisite
vengeance on fifteen thousand captives who had
been guilty of the defence of their country:
they were deprived of sight; but to one of each
hundred a single eye was left, that he might
conduct his blind century to the presence of
their king. Their king is said to have expired of
grief and horror; the nation was awed by this

[q] The ambassador of Otho was provoked by the Greek excuses: cùm Christophori filium Petrus Bulgarorum *Basileus* conjugem duce-
ret *Symphoniæ*, id est consonantiæ, scripto juramento firmata sunt, ut
omnium pentium *Apostoli*, id est nuncii, pendè nos Bulgarorum
Apostoli præponantur, honorentur, diligentur (Liutprand in Legatione, p. 482). See the Ceremoniale of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, tom. i, p. 82, tom. ii, p. 429, 430, 431, 435, 443, 444, 446, 447, with the annotations of Reiske.

terrible example; the Bulgarians were swept away from their settlements, and circumscribed within a narrow province; the surviving chiefs bequeathed to their children the advice of patience and the duty of revenge. CHAP. LV.

II. When the black swarm of Hungarians first hung over Europe, about nine hundred years after the christian æra, they were mistaken by fear and superstition for the Gog and Magog of the scriptures, the signs and forerunners of the end of the world.[1] Since the introduction of letters, they have explored their own antiquities with a strong and laudable impulse of patriotic curiosity.[2] Their rational criticism can no longer be amused with a vain pedigree of Attila and the Huns: but they complain that their primitive records have perished in the Tartar war; that the truth or fiction of their rustic songs is long since forgotten; and that the fragments of a rude chronicle[3] must be painfully reconciled Emigration of the Turks or Hungarians, A. D. 884.

[1] A bishop of Wurtzburgh submitted this opinion to a reverend abbot: but he more gravely decided, that Gog and Magog were the spiritual persecutors of the church; since Gog signifies the roof, the pride of the Heretarchs, and Magog what comes from the roof, the propagation of their sects. Yet these men once commanded the respect of mankind (Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xi, p. 591, &c.)

[2] The two national authors, from whom I have derived the most assistance, are George Pray (Dissertationes ad annales veterum Hungarorum, &c. Vindobonæ, 1775, in folio), and Stephen Katona (Hist. Critica ducum et regum Hungariæ stirpis Arpadianæ, Pestini, 1778-1781, 5 vol. in octavo). The first embraces a large and often conjectural space; the latter, by his learning, judgment, and perspicuity, deserves the name of a critical historian.

[3] The author of this Chronicle is styled the notary of King Bela. Katona has assigned him to the twelfth century, and defends his character against the hypercriticism of Pray. This royal notary must have transcribed some historical record, since he could affirm with

CHAP. LV.

with the contemporary though foreign intelligence of the imperial geographer.[a] *Magiar* is the national and oriental denomination of the Hungarians; but, among the tribes of Scythia, they are distinguished by the Greeks under the proper and peculiar name of *Turks*, as the descendants of that mighty people who had conquered and reigned from China to the Volga. The Pannonian colony preserved a correspondence of trade and amity with the eastern Turks on the confines of Persia; and after a separation of three hundred and fifty years, the missionaries of the king of Hungary discovered and visited their ancient country near the banks of the Volga. They were hospitably entertained by a people of pagans and savages, who still bore the name of Hungarians; conversed in their native tongue, recollected a tradition of their long-lost brethren, and listened with amazement to the marvellous tale of their new kingdom and religion. The zeal of conversion was animated by the interest of consanguinity; and one of the greatest of their princes had formed the generous, though fruitless, design of replenishing the solitude of Pannonia by this domestic colony.

dignity, rejectis falsis fabulis rusticorum, et garrulo cantû joculatorum. In the fifteenth century, these fables were collected by Thurotzius, and embellished by the Italian Bonfinius. See the Preliminary Discourse in the Hist. Critica Ducum, p. 7-33.

[a] See Constantine de Administrando Imperio, c. 3, 4, 13, 38-42. Katona has nicely fixed the composition of this work to the years 949, 950, 951 (p. 4-7). The critical historian (p. 34-107) endeavours to prove the existence, and to relate the actions, of a first duke *Almus* the father of Arpad, who is tacitly rejected by Constantine.

from the heart of Tartary.* From this primitive country they were driven to the West by the tide of war and emigration, by the weight of the more distant tribes, who at the same time were fugitives and conquerors. Reason or fortune directed their course towards the frontiers of the Roman empire; they halted in the usual stations along the banks of the great rivers; and in the territories of Moscow, Kiow, and Moldavia, some vestiges have been discovered of their temporary residence. In this long and various peregrination, they could not always escape the dominion of the stronger; and the purity of their blood was improved or sullied by the mixture of a foreign race; from a motive of compulsion or choice, several tribes of the Chazars were associated to the standard of their ancient vassals; introduced the use of a second language; and obtained by their superior renown the most honourable place in the front of battle. The military force of the Turks and their allies marched in seven equal and artificial divisions; each division was formed of thirty thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven warriors, and the proportion of women, children, and servants, supposes and requires at least a million of emigrants. Their public counsels were directed by seven *vayvods*, or hereditary chiefs; but the experience of discord and weakness recommended the

CHAP. LV.

* Pray (Dissert. p. 37-39, &c.) produces and illustrates the original passages of the Hungarian missionaries, Bonfinius and Æneas Sylvius.

CHAP. LV. more simple and vigorous administration of a single person. The sceptre, which had been declined by the modest Lebedius, was granted to the birth or merit of Almus and his son Arpad, and the authority of the supreme khan of the Chazars confirmed the engagement of the prince and people; of the people to obey his commands, of the prince to consult their happiness and glory.

Their Fennic origin.

With this narrative we might be reasonably content, if the penetration of modern learning had not opened a new and larger prospect of the antiquities of nations. The Hungarian language stands alone, and, as it were, insulated, among the Sclavonian dialects; but it bears a close and clear affinity to the idioms of the Fennic race,[y] of an obsolete and savage race, which formerly occupied the northern regions of Asia and Europe. The genuine appellation of *Ugri* or *Igours* is found on the western confines of China;[z] their migration to the banks of the Irtish is attested by Tartar evidence;[a] a similar

[y] Fischer in the Quæstiones Petropolitanæ de Origine Ungrorum, and Pray, Dissertat. i, ii, iii, &c. have drawn up several comparative tables of the Hungarian with the Fennic dialects. The affinity is indeed striking, but the lists are short; the words are purposely chosen; and I read in the learned Bayar (Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. x, p. 374), that, although the Hungarian has adopted many Fennic words (innumeras voces), it essentially differs toto genio et naturâ

[z] In the region of Turfan, which is clearly and minutely described by the Chinese geographers (Gaubil. Hist. du Grand Gengiscan, p. 19; De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii, p. 31, &c.).

[a] Hist. Généalogique des Tartars, par Abulghazi Bahadur Khan, partie ii, p. 90 98.

name and language are detected in the southern parts of Siberia;[b] and the remains of the Fennic tribes are widely, though thinly, scattered from the sources of the Oby to the shores of Lapland.[c] The consanguinity of the Hungarians and Laplanders would display the powerful energy of climate on the children of a common parent; the lively contrast between the bold adventurers, who are intoxicated with the wines of the Danube, and the wretched fugitives who are immersed beneath the snows of the polar circle. Arms and freedom have ever been the ruling, though too often the unsuccessful, passion of the Hungarians, who are endowed by nature with a vigorous constitution of soul and body.[d] Extreme cold has diminished the stature and congealed the faculties of the Laplanders; and the arctic tribes, alone among the sons of men, are ignorant of war, and unconscious of human

[b] In their journey to Pekin, both Isbrand Ives (Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. ii, p. 920, 941) and Bell (Travels, vol. i, p. 174) found the Vogulitz in the neighbourhood of Tobolsky. By the tortures of the etymological art, *Ugur* and *Vogul* are reduced to the same name; the circumjacent mountains really bear the appellation of *Ugrian*; and of all the Fennic dialects, the Vogulian is the nearest to the Hungarian (Fischer, Dissert. i, p. 20-30. Pray, Dissert. ii, p. 31-34).

[c] The eight tribes of the Fennic race are described in the curious work of M. Lavesque (Hist. des Peuples soumis à la Domination de la Russie, tom. i, p. 301-361).

[d] This picture of the Hungarians and Bulgarians is chiefly drawn from the Tactics of Leo, p. 706-801, and the Latin Annals, which are alleged by Baronius, Pagi, and Muratori, A. D. 889, &c.

CHAP. LV.

blood: an happy ignorance, if reason and virtue were the guardians of their peace.[e]

Tactics and manners of the Hungarians and Bulgarians, A. D. 900, &c.

It is the observation of the imperial author of the tactics,[f] that all the Scythian hords resembled each other in their pastoral and military life, that they all practised the same means of subsistence, and employed the same instruments of destruction. But he adds, that the two nations of Bulgarians and Hungarians were superior to their brethren, and similar to each other, in the improvements, however rude, of their discipline and government; their visible likeness determines Leo to confound his friends and enemies in one common description; and the picture may be heightened by some strokes from their contemporaries of the tenth century. Except the merit and fame of military prowess, all that is valued by mankind appeared vile and contemptible to these barbarians, whose native fierce-

[e] Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. v, p. 6, in 12mo. Gustavus Adolphus attempted, without success, to form a regiment of Laplanders. Grotius says of these arctic tribes, arma, arcus, et pharetra, sed adversus feras (Annal. l. iv, p. 236); and attempts, after the manner of Tacitus, to varnish with philosophy their brutal ignorance.

[f] Leo has observed, that the government of the Turks was monarchical, and that their punishments were rigorous. (Tactic. p. 896, αυτοκρατορικη και βαρειαν). Rhegino (in Chron. A. D. 889) mentions theft as a capital crime, and his jurisprudence is confirmed by the original code of St Stephen (A. D. 1016). If a slave were guilty, he was chastised, for the first time, with the loss of his nose, or a fine of five heifers; for the second, with the loss of his ears, or a similar fine; for the third, with death; which the freeman did not incur till the fourth offence, as his first penalty was the loss of liberty (Katona Hist. Regum Hungar. tom. i, p. 231, 232).

ness was stimulated by the consciousness of numbers and freedom. The tents of the Hungarians were of leather, their garments of fur; they shaved their hair and scarified their faces: in speech they were slow, in action prompt, in treaty perfidious; and they shared the common reproach of barbarians, too ignorant to conceive the importance of truth, too proud to deny or palliate the breach of their most solemn engagements. Their simplicity has been praised; yet they abstained only from the luxury they had never known: whatever they saw, they coveted; their desires were insatiate, and their sole industry was the hand of violence and rapine. By the definition of a pastoral nation, I have recalled a long description of the economy, the warfare, and the government that prevail in that stage of society; I may add, that to fishing, as well as to the chase, the Hungarians were indebted for a part of their subsistence; and since they *seldom* cultivated the ground, they must, at least in their new settlements, have sometimes practised a slight and unskilful husbandry. In their emigrations, perhaps in their expeditions, the host was accompanied by thousands of sheep and oxen, who increased the cloud of formidable dust, and afforded a constant and wholesome supply of milk and animal food. A plentiful command of forage was the first care of the general; and if the flocks and herds were secure of their pastures, the hardy warrior was alike insensible of danger and fatigue. The confusion of men and cattle that overspread the country

CHAP. LV.

exposed their camp to a nocturnal surprise, had not a still wider circuit been occupied by their light cavalry, perpetually in motion to discover and delay the approach of the enemy. After some experience of the Roman tactics, they adopted the use of the sword and spear, the helmet of the soldier, and the iron breast-plate of his steed: but their native and deadly weapon was the Tartar bow: from the earliest infancy, their children and servants were exercised in the double science of archery and horsemanship; their arm was strong; their aim was sure; and in the most rapid career, they were taught to throw themselves backwards, and to shoot a volley of arrows into the air. In open combat, in secret ambush, in flight, or pursuit, they were equally formidable: an appearance of order was maintained in the foremost ranks, but their charge was driven forwards by the impatient pressure of succeeding crowds. They pursued, headlong and rash, with loosened reins and horrific outcries; but if they fled, with real or dissembled fear, the ardour of a pursuing foe was checked and chastised by the same habits of irregular speed and sudden evolution. In the abuse of victory, they astonished Europe, yet smarting from the wounds of the Saracen and the Dane: mercy they rarely asked, and more rarely bestowed: both sexes were accused as equally inaccessible to pity, and their appetite for raw flesh might countenance the popular tale, that they drank the blood and feasted on the hearts of the slain. Yet the Hungarians were not devoid of those principles of justice

and humanity, which nature has implanted in every bosom. The license of public and private injuries was restrained by laws and punishments; and in the security of an open camp, theft is the most tempting and most dangerous offence. Among the barbarians, there were many, whose spontaneous virtue supplied their laws and corrected their manners, who performed the duties, and sympathised with the affections, of social life.

CHAP. I.V.

Establishment and inroads of the Hungarians, A. D. 889.

After a long pilgrimage of flight or victory, the Turkish hordes approached the common limits of the French and Byzantine empires. Their first conquests and final settlements extended on either side of the Danube above Vienna, below Belgrade, and beyond the measure of the Roman province of Pannonia, or the modern kingdom of Hungary.[s] That ample and fertile land was loosely occupied by the Moravians, a Sclavonian name and tribe, which were driven by the invaders into the compass of a narrow province. Charlemagne had stretched a vague and nominal empire as far as the edge of Transylvania; but, after the failure of his legitimate line, the dukes of Moravia forgot their obedience and tribute to the monarchs of oriental France. The bastard Arnulph was provoked to invite the arms of the Turks: they rushed through the real or figurative wall, which his indiscretion had thrown open; and the king of Germany has been justly reproached as a traitor to the civil and ecclesi-

[s] See Katona, Hist. Ducum Hungar. p. 321-352.

CHAP. LV.

A. D. 900, &c.

astical society of the Christians. During the life of Arnulph, the Hungarians were checked by gratitude or fear: but in the infancy of his son Lewis they discovered and invaded Bavaria; and such was their Scythian speed, that in a single day a circuit of fifty miles was stript and consumed. In the battle of Augsburgh the Christians maintained their advantage till the seventh hour of the day; they were deceived and vanquished by the flying stratagems of the Turkish cavalry. The conflagration spread over the provinces of Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia; and the Hungarians[h] promoted the reign of anarchy, by forcing the stoutest barons to discipline their vassals and fortify their castles. The origin of walled towns is ascribed to this calamitous period; nor could any distance be secure against an enemy, who, almost at the same instant, laid in ashes the Helvetian monastery of St Gall, and the city of Bremen, on the shores of the northern ocean. Above thirty years the Germanic empire, or kingdom, was subject to the ignominy of tribute; and resistance was disarmed by the menace, the serious and effectual menace, of dragging the women and children into captivity, and of slaughtering the males above the age of ten years. I have neither power nor inclination to follow the Hungarians beyond the Rhine;

[h] Hungarorum gens, cujus omnes ferè nationes expertæ sævitiam, &c. in the preface of Liutprand (l. i, c. 2), who frequently expatiates on the calamities of his own times. See l. i, c. 5, l. ii, c. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7. l. iii, &c. l. v, c. 8, 15, in Legat. p. 485. His colours are glaring, but his chronology must be rectified by Pagi and Muratori.

CHAP. LV.

but I must observe with surprise, that the southern provinces of France were blasted by the tempest, and that Spain, behind her Pyrenees, was astonished at the approach of these formidable strangers.[1] The vicinity of Italy had tempted their early inroads; but, from their camp on the Brenta, they beheld with some terror the apparent strength and populousness of the new-discovered country. They requested leave to retire; their request was proudly rejected by the Italian king; and the lives of twenty thousand Christians paid the forfeit of his obstinacy and rashness. Among the cities of the West, the royal Pavia was conspicuous in fame and splendour; and the pre-eminence of Rome itself was only derived from the relics of the apostles. The Hungarians appeared; Pavia was in flames; forty-three churches were consumed; and, after the massacre of the people, they spared about two hundred wretches, who had gathered some bushels of gold and silver (a vague exaggeration) from the smoking ruins of their country. In these annual excursions from the Alps to the neighbourhood of Rome and Capua, the churches, that yet escaped, resounded with a fearful litany: "Oh! save and deliver us from the arrows "of the Hungarians!" But the saints were deaf or inexorable; and the torrent rolled forwards, till it was stopped by the extreme land of Cala-

A. D. 900.

A. D. 921.

[1] The three bloody reigns of Arpad, Zolton, and Toxus, are critically illustrated by Katona (Hist. Ducum, &c. p. 107-409). His diligence has searched both natives and foreigners; yet to the deeds of mischief, or glory, I have been able to add the destruction of Bremen. (Adam Bremensis, i. 43).

CHAP. LV.

bria.[k] A composition was offered and accepted for the head of each Italian subject; and ten bushels of silver were poured forth in the Turkish camp. But falsehood is the natural antagonist of violence; and the robbers were defrauded both in the numbers of the assessment and the standard of the metal. On the side of the East the Hungarians were opposed in doubtful conflict by the equal arms of the Bulgarians, whose faith forbade an alliance with the pagans, and whose situation formed the barrier of the
A. D. 934. Byzantine empire. The barrier was overturned; the emperor of Constantinople beheld the waving banners of the Turks; and one of their boldest warriors presumed to strike a battle-axe into the golden gate. The arts and treasures of the Greeks diverted the assault; but the Hungarians might boast, on their retreat, that they had imposed a tribute on the spirit of Bulgaria and the majesty of the Cæsars.[l] The remote and

[k] Muratori has considered with patriotic care the danger and resources of Modena. The citizens besought St. Geminianus, their patron, to avert, by his intercession, the *rabies, flagellum*, &c.

Nunc te rogamus, licet servi pessimi,
Ab Ungerorum nos defendas jaculis.

The bishop erected walls for the public defence, not contra dominos serenos (Antiquitat. Ital. med. Ævi, tom. i, dissertat. i, p. 21, 22), and the song of the nightly watch is not without elegance or use (tom. iii, dissertat. xl, p. 709). The Italian annalist has accurately traced the series of their inroads (Annali d'Italia, tom. vii, p. 365, 367, 393, 401, 437, 440, tom. viii, p. 19, 41, 52, &c.).

[l] Both the Hungarian and Russian annals suppose, that they besieged, or attacked, or insulted Constantinople (Pray, dissertat. x, p. 239. Katona, Hist. Ducum, p. 354-360); and the fact is *almost* confessed by the Byzantine historians (Leo Grammaticus, p. 506. Ce-

CHAP. LV.

rapid operations of the same campaign appear to magnify the power and numbers of the Turks; but their courage is most deserving of praise, since a light troop of three or four hundred horse would often attempt and execute the most daring inroads to the gates of Thessalonica and Constantinople. At this disastrous æra of the ninth and tenth centuries, Europe was afflicted by a triple scourge from the North, the East, and the South: the Norman, the Hungarian, and the Saracen, sometimes trod the same ground of desolation; and these savage foes might have been compared by Homer to the two lions growling over the carcase of a mangled stag.[m]

Victory of Henry the Fowler, A. D. 933.

The deliverance of Germany and Christendom was achieved by the Saxon princes, Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great, who, in two memorable battles, for ever broke the power of the Hungarians.[n] The valiant Henry was roused from a bed of sickness by the invasion of his country; but his mind was vigorous and his

drenus, tom. ii, p. 629): yet, however glorious to the nation, it is denied or doubted by the critical historian, and even by the notary of Bela. Their scepticism is meritorious; they could not safely transcribe or believe the rusticorum fabulas; but Katona might have given due attention to the evidence of Liutprand; Bulgarorum gentem atque *Græcorum* tributariam faciorant (Hist. l. ii, c. 4, p. 435).

[m] ——λεοντ' ἐς δημοβοτον,
Οτε τυφι κορυφησι περι νεκυσσιν ἑληφυ
Αμφω πτηνοντι μεγα φρονοντε μαχεσθην.

[n] They are amply and critically discussed by Katona (Hist. Ducum, p. 360-368, 427-470). Liutprand (l. ii, c. 8, 9) is the best evidence for the former, and Witichind (Annal. Saxon. l. iii) of the latter; but the critical historian will not even overlook the horn of a warrior which is said to be preserved at Jazberin.

CHAP. LV.

prudence successful. "My companions," said he on the morning of the combat, "maintain "your ranks, receive on your bucklers the first "arrows of the pagans, and prevent their second "discharge by the equal and rapid career of your "lances." They obeyed, and conquered: and the historical picture of the castle of Merseburgh expressed the features, or at least the character, of Henry, who, in an age of ignorance, entrusted to the finer arts the perpetuity of his name.* At the end of twenty years, the children of the Turks who had fallen by his sword invaded the empire of his son; and their force is defined, in the lowest estimate, at one hundred thousand horse. They were invited by domestic faction; the gates of Germany were treacherously unlocked; and they spread, far beyond the Rhine and the Meuse, into the heart of Flanders. But the vigour and prudence of Otho dispelled the conspiracy; the princes were made sensible, that unless they were true to each other, their religion and country were irrecoverably lost; and the national powers were reviewed in the plains of Augsburgh. They marched and fought in eight

of Otho the Great, A. D. 955.

* Hunc verò triumphum, tam laude quam memoriâ dignum, ad Meresburgum rex in superiori cœnaculo domûs per ζωγραφιαν, id est, picturam, notari præcepit, adeo ut rem veram potiûs quàm verisimilem videas: an high encomium (Liutprand, l. ii, c. 9). Another palace in Germany had been painted with holy subjects by the order of Charlemagne; and Muratori may justly affirm, nulla sæcula fuere in quibus pretores desiderati fuerint (Antiquitat. Ital. medii Ævi, tom. ii, dissert. xxiv, p. 360, 361). Our domestic claims to antiquity of ignorance and original imperfection (Mr Walpole's lively words) are of a much more recent date (Anecdotes of Painting, vol. i, p. 2, &c.).

legions, according to the division of provinces and tribes; the first, second, and third, were composed of Bavarians; the fourth of Franconians; the fifth of Saxons, under the immediate command of the monarch; the sixth and seventh consisted of Swabians; and the eighth legion, of a thousand Bohemians, closed the rear of the host. The resources of discipline and valour were fortified by the arts of superstition, which, on this occasion, may deserve the epithets of generous and salutary. The soldiers were purified with a fast; the camp was blessed with the relics of saints and martyrs; and the christian hero girded on his side the sword of Constantine, grasped the invincible spear of Charlemagne, and waved the banner of St Maurice, the prefect of the Thebæan legion. But his firmest confidence was placed in the holy lance,[p] whose point was fashioned of the nails of the cross, and which his father had extorted from the king of Burgundy, by the threats of war and the gift of a province. The Hungarians were expected in the front; they secretly passed the Lech, a river of Bavaria that falls into the Danube; turned the rear of the christian army; plundered the baggage, and disordered the legions of Bohemia and Swabia. The battle was restored by the Franconians, whose duke, the valiant Conrad, was pierced with an arrow as he rested from his fatigues; the Sax-

[p] See Baronius, Annal Eccles. A. D. 929, No. 2-5. The lance of Christ is taken from the best evidence, Liutprand (l. iv, c. 12), Sigebert, and the acts of St Gerard: but the other military relics depend on the faith of the Gesta Anglorum post Bedam, l. ii, c. 8.

CHAP. LV.

ons fought under the eye of their king; and his victory surpassed, in merit and importance, the triumphs of the last two hundred years. The loss of the Hungarians was still greater in the flight than in the action; they were encompassed by the rivers of Bavaria; and their past cruelties excluded them from the hope of mercy. Three captive princes were hanged at Ratisbon, the multitude of prisoners was slain or mutilated, and the fugitives, who presumed to appear in the face of their country, were condemned to everlasting poverty and disgrace.[q] Yet the spirit of the nation was humbled, and the most accessible passes of Hungary were fortified with a ditch and rampart. Adversity suggested the counsels of moderation and peace: the robbers of the West acquiesced in a sedentary life; and

A. D. 912.

the next generation was taught by a discerning prince, that far more might be gained by multiplying and exchanging the produce of a fruitful soil. The native race, the Turkish or Fennic blood, was mingled with new colonies of Scythian or Sclavonian origin;[r] many thousands of ro-

[q] Katona, Hist. Ducum Hungariæ, p. 500, &c.

[r] Among these colonies we may distinguish, 1. The Chazars, or Cabari, who joined the Hungarians on their march (Constant. de Admin. Imp. c. 39, 40, p. 108, 109). 2. The Jazyges, Moravians, and Siculi, whom they found in the land; the last were *perhaps* a remnant of the Huns of Attila, and were entrusted with the guard of the borders. 3. The Russians, who, like the Swiss in France, imparted a general name to the royal porters. 4. The Bulgarians, whose chiefs (A. D. 956) were invited, cum *magnâ* multitudine *Hismaheli-tarum*. Had any of these Sclavonians embraced the Mahometan religion? 5. The Bisseni and Cumans, a mixed multitude of Patzinacites, Uzi, Chazars, &c. who had spread to the lower Danube. The last colony of 40,000 Cumans, A. D. 1239, was received and converted

bust and industrious captives had been imported from all the countries of Europe;[s] and after the marriage of Gersa with a Bavarian princess, he bestowed honours and estates on the nobles of Germany.[t] The son of Geisa was invested with the regal title, and the house of Arpad reigned three hundred years in the kingdom of Hungary. But the freeborn barbarians were not dazzled by the lustre of the diadem, and the people asserted their indefeasible right of choosing, deposing, and punishing, the hereditary servant of the state.

Origin of the Russian monarchy.

III. The name of *Russians*[u] was first divulged in the ninth century, by an embassy from Theophilus, emperor of the East, to the emperor of the West, Lewis, the son of Charlemagne. The Greeks were accompanied by the envoys of the great duke, or chagan, or *czar*, of the Russians.

by the kings of Hungary, who derived from that tribe a new regal appellation (Pray, Dissert. vi, vii, p. 109-173. Katona, Hist. Ducum, p. 95-99, 259-264, 476, 479-483, &c.)

[s] Christiani autem, quorum pars major populi est, qui ex omni parte mundi illuc tracti sunt captivi, &c. Such was the language of Piligrinus, the first missionary who entered Hungary, A. D. 973. Pars major is strong. Hist. Ducum, p. 517.

[t] The fideles Teutonici of Geisa are authenticated in old charters; and Katona, with his usual industry, has made a fair estimate of these colonies, which had been so loosely magnified by the Italian Ranzanus (Hist. Critic. Ducum, p. 667-681).

[u] Among the Greeks, this national appellation has a singular form Ρως, as an undeclinable word, of which many fanciful etymologies have been suggested. I have perused, with pleasure and profit, a dissertation de Origine Russorum (Comment. Academ. Petropolitanæ, tom. viii, p. 388-436), by Theophilus Sigefrid Bayer, a learned German, who spent his life and labours in the service of Russia. A geographical tract of d'Anville, de l'Empire de Russie, son Origine, et ses Accroissemens, (Paris, 1772, in 12mo), has likewise been of use.

CHAP. LV.

A. D. 839.

In their journey to Constantinople, they had traversed many hostile nations; and they hoped to escape the dangers of their return by requesting the French monarch to transport them by sea to their native country. A closer examination detected their origin: they were the brethren of the Swedes and Normans, whose name was already odious and formidable in France; and it might justly be apprehended, that these Russian strangers were not the messengers of peace, but the emissaries of war. They were detained, while the Greeks were dismissed; and Lewis expected a more satisfactory account, that he might obey the laws of hospitality or prudence, according to the interest of both empires.* The Scandinavian origin of the people, or at least the princes, of Russia, may be confirmed and illustrated by the national annals† and the general history of the North. The Normans, who had so long been concealed by a veil of impenetrable darkness, suddenly burst forth in the spirit of naval and military enterprise. The vast, and, as it is said, the populous regions of Denmark, Sweden, and

* See the entire passage (dignum, says Bayer, ut aureis in tabulis figatur) in the Annales Bertiniani Francorum (in Script. Ital. Muratori, tom. ii, pars i, p. 525) A. D. 839, twenty-two years before the æra of Ruric. In the tenth century, Liutprand (Hist. l, v, c. 6) speaks of the Russians and Normans as the same Aquilonares homines of a red complexion.

† My knowledge of these annals is drawn from M. Leveque, Histoire de Russie. Nestor, the first and best of these ancient annalists, was a monk of Kiow, who died in the beginning of the twelfth century, but his chronicle was obscure, till it was published at Petersburgh, 1767, in 4to. Leveque, Hist. de Russie, tom. i, p. xvi. Coxe's Travels, vol. ii, p. 184.

Norway, were crowded with independent chieftains and desperate adventurers, who sighed in the laziness of peace, and smiled in the agonies of death. Piracy was the exercise, the trade, the glory, and the virtue, of the Scandinavian youth. Impatient of a bleak climate and narrow limits, they started from the banquet, grasped their arms, sounded their horn, ascended their vessels, and explored every coast that promised either spoil or settlement. The Baltic was the first scene of their naval achievements; they visited the eastern shores, the silent residence of Fennic and Sclavonian tribes, and the primitive Russians of the lake Ladoga paid a tribute, the skins of white squirrels, to these strangers, whom they saluted with the title of *Varangians*,* or Corsairs. Their superiority in arms, discipline, and renown, commanded the fear and reverence of the natives. In their wars against the more inland savages, the Varangians condescended to serve as friends and auxiliaries, and gradually, by choice or conquest, obtained the dominion of a people whom they were qualified to protect. Their tyranny was expelled, their valour was again recalled, till at length Ruric, a Scandinavian chief, became the father of a dynasty which reigned above seven hundred years. His brothers extended his influence: the example of service and usurpation was imitated by his companions in the southern provinces of Russia; and their establishments, by the usual methods of war and assassination,

CHAP. LV.

A. D. 862.

* Theophil. Sig. Bayer de Varagis (for the name is differently spelt), in Comment. Academ. Petropolitanæ, tom. iv, p. 275-311.

CHAP. LV.

were cemented into the fabric of a powerful monarchy.

The Varangians of Constantinople.

As long as the descendants of Ruric were considered as aliens and conquerors, they ruled by the sword of the Varangians, distributed estates and subjects to their faithful captains, and supplied their numbers with fresh streams of adventurers from the Baltic coast.[a] But when the Scandinavian chiefs had struck a deep and permanent root into the soil, they mingled with the Russians, in blood, religion, and language, and the first Waladimir had the merit of delivering his country from these foreign mercenaries. They had seated him on the throne; his riches were insufficient to satisfy their demands; but they listened to his pleasing advice, that they should seek, not a more grateful, but a more wealthy master; that they should embark for Greece, where, instead of the skins of squirrels, silk and gold would be the recompence of their service. At the same time the Russian prince admonished his Byzantine ally to disperse and employ, to recompence and restrain, these impetuous children of the north. Contemporary writers have recorded the introduction, name, and character of the *Varangians*: each day they rose in confidence and esteem; the whole body was assembled at Constantinople to perform the duty of guards; and their strength was recruited by a numerous band of their countrymen from the island of

[a] Yet, as late as the year 1018, Kiow and Russia were still guarded ex fugitivorum servorum robore confluentium, et maxime Danorum. Bayer, who quotes (p. 292) the Chronicle of Dithmar of Merseburgh, observes, that it was unusual for the Germans to enlist in a foreign service.

Thule. On this occasion, the vague appellation of Thule is applied to England; and the new Varangians were a colony of English and Danes who fled from the yoke of the Norman conqueror. The habits of pilgrimage and piracy had approximated the countries of the earth; these exiles were entertained in the Byzantine court; and they preserved, till the last age of the empire, the inheritance of spotless loyalty, and the use of the Danish or English tongue. With their broad and double-edged battle-axes on their shoulders, they attended the Greek emperor to the temple, the senate, and the hippodrome; he slept and feasted under their trusty guard; and the keys of the palace, the treasury, and the capital, were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Varangians.[b] CHAP. LV.

In the tenth century, the geography of Scythia was extended far beyond the limits of ancient knowledge; and the monarchy of the Russians obtains a vast and conspicuous place in the map of Constantine.[c] The sons of Ruric were mas- Geography and trade of Russia, A. D. 950.

[b] Du Cange has collected from the original authors the state and history of the Varangi at Constantinople (Glossar. Med. et Infimæ Græcitatis, sub voce Βαραγγοι. Med. et Infimæ Latinitatis, sub voce *Vagri*. Not. ad Alexiad. Annæ Comnenæ, p. 256, 257, 258. Notes sur Villehardouin, p. 296-299). See likewise the annotations of Reiske to the Ceremoniale Aulæ Byzant. of Constantine, tom. ii, p. 149, 150. Saxo-Grammaticus affirms that they spoke Danish; but Codinus maintains them till the fifteenth century in the use of their native English: Πολυχρονιζουσι οι Βαραγγοι κατα την πατριον γλωσσαν αυτων ητοι Ιγκλινιστι.

[c] The original record of the geography and trade of Russia is produced by the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Administrat.

CHAP. LV.

ters of the spacious province of Wolodomir, or Moscow; and, if they were confined on that side by the hords of the east, their western frontier in those early days was enlarged to the Baltic Sea and the country of the Prussians. Their northern reign ascended above the sixtieth degree of latitude, over the Hyperborean regions, which fancy had peopled with monsters, or clouded with eternal darkness. To the south they followed the course of the Borysthenes, and approached with that river the neighbourhood of the Euxine Sea. The tribes that dwelt, or wandered, on this ample circuit, were obedient to the same conqueror, and insensibly blended into the same nation. The language of Russia is a dialect of the Sclavonian; but, in the tenth century, these two modes of speech were different from each other; and, as the Sclavonian prevailed in the South, it may be presumed that the original Russians of the North, the primitive subjects of the Varangian chief, were a portion of the Fennic race. With the emigration, union, or dissolution, of the wandering tribes, the loose and indefinite picture of the Scythian desert has continually shifted.* But the most ancient map of Russia affords some places which still retain their name and position; and the two capitals, Novo-

Imperii, c. 2, p. 53, 56, c. 9, p. 59-61, c. 13, p. 63-67, c. 37, p. 106, c. 42, p. 112, 113), and illustrated by the diligence of Bayer (de Geographiâ Russiæ vicinarumque Regionum circiter, A. C. 948, in Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. ix, p. 367-422, tom. x, p. 371-421), with the aid of the chronicles and traditions of Russia, Scandinavia, &c.

gorod[d] and Kiow[e] are coeval with the first age of the monarchy. Novogorod had not yet deserved the epithet of great, nor the alliance of the Hanseatic league, which diffused the streams of opulence and the principles of freedom. Kiow could not yet boast of three hundred churches, an innumerable people, and a degree of greatness and splendour, which was compared with Constantinople by those who had never seen the residence of the Cæsars. In their origin, the two cities were no more than camps or fairs, the most convenient stations in which the barbarians might assemble for the occasional business of war or trade. Yet even these assemblies announce some progress in the arts of society; a new breed of cattle was imported from the southern provinces; and the spirit of commercial enterprise pervaded the sea and land from the Baltic to the Euxine, from the mouth of the Oder to the port of Constantinople. In the days of idolatry and barbarism, the Sclavonic city of

[d] The haughty proverb, "Who can resist God and the great Novogorod?" is applied by M. Levesque (Hist. de Russie, tom. i, p. 60) even to the times that preceded the reign of Ruric. In the course of his history he frequently celebrates this republic, which was suppressed A. D. 1475 (tom. ii, p. 252-260). That accurate traveller, Adam Olearius, describes (in 1636) the remains of Novogorod, and the route by sea and land of the Holstein ambassadors (tom. i, p. 123-129).

[e] In hac magna civitate, quæ est caput regni, plus trecentæ ecclesiæ habentur et nundinæ octo, populi etiam ignota manus (Eggehardus ad A. D. 1018, apud Buyer, tom. ix, p. 412). He likewise quotes (tom. x, p. 397) the words of the Saxon annalist, Cujus (*Russiæ*) metropolis est Chive, æmula sceptri Constantinopolitani quæ est clarissimum decus Græciæ. The fame of Kiow, especially in the eleventh century, had reached the German and the Arabian geographers

CHAP. LV.

Julin was frequented and enriched by the Normans, who had prudently secured a free mart of purchase and exchange.[f] From this harbour, at the entrance of the Oder, the corsair, or merchant, sailed in forty-three days to the eastern shores of the Baltic; the most distant nations were intermingled, and the holy groves of Curland *are said* to have been decorated with *Grecian* and Spanish gold.[g] Between the sea and Novogorod an easy intercourse was discovered; in the summer, through a gulf, a lake, and a navigable river; in the winter season, over the hard and level surface of boundless snows. From the neighbourhood of that city, the Russians descended the streams that fall into the Borysthenes; their canoes, of a single tree, were laden with slaves of every age, furs of every species, the spoil of their bee-hives, and the hides

[f] In Odoræ ostio quâ Scythicas alluit paludes, nobilissimâ civitas Julinum, celeberrimam, Barbaris et Græcis qui sunt in circuitû præstans stationem; est sane maxima omnium quas Europa claudit civitatum (Adam Bremensis, Hist. Eccles. p. 19). A strange exaggeration even in the eleventh century. The trade of the Baltic, and the Hanseatic league, are carefully treated in Anderson's Historical Deduction of Commerce; at least, in *our* languages, I am not acquainted with any book so satisfactory.

[g] According to Adam of Bremen (de Sitû Daniæ, p. 58), the old Curland extended eight days journey along the coast; and by Peter Teutoburgicus (p. 68, A. D. 1326), Memel is defined as the common frontier of Russia, Curland, and Prussia. Aurum ibi plurimum (says Adam) divinis, auguribus atque necromanticis omnes domus sunt plenæ . . . . . a toto orbe ibi responsa petuntur maxime ab Hispanis (forsan *Zuponis*, id est regulis Lettoviæ) et Græcis. The name of Greeks was applied to the Russians even before their conversion; an imperfect conversion, if they still consulted the wizards of Curland (Bayer, tom. x, p. 378-402, &c. Grotius, Prolegomen. ad Hist. Goth. p. 99).

of their cattle; and the whole produce of the north was collected and discharged in the magazines of Kiow. The month of June was the ordinary season of the departure of the fleet; the timber of the canoes was framed into the oars and benches of more solid and capacious boats; and they proceeded without obstacle down the Borysthenes, as far as the seven or thirteen ridges of rocks, which traverse the bed, and precipitate the waters, of the river. At the more shallow falls it was sufficient to lighten the vessels; but the deeper cataracts were impassable; and the mariners, who dragged their vessels and their slaves six miles over land, were exposed in this toilsome journey to the robbers of the desert.[h] At the first island below the falls, the Russians celebrated the festival of their escape; at a second, near the mouth of the river, they repaired their shattered vessels for the longer and more perilous voyage of the Black Sea. If they steered along the coast, the Danube was accessible; with a fair wind they could reach in thirty-six or forty hours the opposite shores of Anatolia; and Constantinople admitted the annual visit of the strangers of the north. They returned at the stated season with a rich cargo of corn, wine, and oil, the manufactures of Greece, and the spices of India. Some of their countrymen re-

[h] Constantine only reckons seven cataracts, of which he gives the Russian and Sclavonic names; but thirteen are enumerated by the Sieur de Beauplan, a French engineer, who had surveyed the course and navigation of the Dnieper or Borysthenes (Description d'Ukranie, Rouen, 1660, a thin quarto); but the map is unluckily wanting in my copy.

CHAP. LV.

sided in the capital and provinces; and the national treaties protected the persons, effects, and privileges of the Russian merchant.[i]

Naval expeditions of the Russians against Constantinople.

But the same communication which had been opened for the benefit, was soon abused for the injury, of mankind. In a period of one hundred and ninety years, the Russians made four attempts to plunder the treasures of Constantinople: the event was various, but the motive, the means, and the object, were the same in these naval expeditions.[k] The Russian traders had seen the magnificence and tasted the luxury of the city of the Cæsars. A marvellous tale, and a scanty supply, excited the desires of their savage countrymen: they envied the gifts of nature which their climate denied; they coveted the works of art which they were too lazy to imitate and too indigent to purchase; the Varangian princes unfurled the banners of piratical adventure, and their bravest soldiers were drawn from the nations that dwelt in the northern isles of the ocean.[l] The image of their naval arma-

[i] Nestor apud Lovesque, Hist. de Russie, tom. i, p. 78-80. From the Dnieper or Borysthenes, the Russians went to Black Bulgaria, Chazaria, and *Syria*. To Syria, how? where? when? May we not, instead of Συρια, read Σωανια (de Administrat. Imp. c. 42, p. 113)? The alteration is slight; the position of Suania between Chazaria and Lazica, is perfectly suitable; and the name was still used in the eleventh century (Cedren. tom. ii, p. 770).

[k] The wars of the Russians and Greeks in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, are related in the Byzantine annals, especially those of Zonaras and Cedrenus; and all their testimonies are collected in the *Rossica* of Stritter, tom. ii, pars. ii, p. 939-1044.

[l] Προσεταιρισαμενος δε και συμμαχικον απο των κατηκοντων εν τη βορειοτατη του Ουξεινου πλευρα εθνων. Cedrenus, in Compend. p. 758.

ments was revived in the last century, in the fleets of the Cossacks, which issued from the Borysthenes, to navigate the same seas, for a similar purpose.[m] The Greek appellation of *monoxyla*, or single canoes, might be justly applied to the bottom of their vessels. It was scooped out of the long stem of a beech or willow; but the slight and narrow foundation was raised and continued on either side with planks, till it attained the length of sixty, and the height of about twelve, feet. These boats were built without a deck, but with two rudders and a mast; to move with sails and oars; and to contain from forty to seventy men, with their arms and provisions of fresh water and salt fish. The first trial of the Russians was made with two hundred boats; but when the national force was exerted, they might arm against Constantinople a thousand or twelve hundred vessels. Their fleet was not much inferior to the royal navy of Agamemnon, but it was magnified in the eyes of fear to ten or fifteen times the real proportion of its strength and numbers. Had the Greek emperors been endowed with foresight to discern, and vigour to prevent, perhaps they might have sealed with a maritime force the mouth of the Borysthenes. Their indolence abandoned the coast of Anatolia to the calamities of a piratical war, which, after an interval of six hundred years, again infested the Euxine; but as long as the CHAP. LV.

[m] See Beauplan, (Description de l'Ukranie, p. 54-61): his descriptions are lively, his plans accurate, and, except the circumstance of fire-arms, we may read old Russians for modern Cossacks.

CHAP. LV.

capital was respected, the sufferings of a distant province escaped the notice both of the prince and the historian. The storm which had swept along from the Phasis and Trebizond, at length burst on the Bosphorus of Thrace; a strait of fifteen miles, in which the rude vessels of the Russian might have been stopped and destroyed by a more skilful adversary. In their first enterprise[n] under the princes of Kiow, they passed without opposition, and occupied the port of Constantinople in the absence of the emperor Michael, the son of Theophilus. Through a crowd of perils he landed at the palace-stairs, and immediately repaired to a church of the Virgin Mary.[o] By the advice of the patriarch, her garment, a precious relic, was drawn from the sanctuary and dipped in the sea; and a seasonable tempest, which determined the retreat of the Russians, was devoutly ascribed to the mother of God.[p] The silence of the Greeks may inspire some doubt of the truth, or at least of the importance, of the second attempt by

The first, A. D. 865.

The second, A. D. 901.

[n] It is to be lamented, that Bayer has only given a dissertation de Russorum *prima* expeditione Constantinopolitanâ (Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. vi, p. 365-391). After disentangling some chronological intricacies, he fixes it in the years 864 or 865, a date which might have smoothed some doubts and difficulties in the beginning of M. Levesque's history.

[o] When Photius wrote his encyclic epistle on the conversion of the Russians, the miracle was not yet sufficiently ripe; he reproaches the nation as τῆς ὀμοτητος καὶ μιαιφονιας πασιν διοτεμης τα ἐθνη.

[p] Leo Grammaticus, p. 463, 464. Constantini Continuator, in Script. post Theophanem, p. 121, 122. Simeon Logothet. p. 445, 446. George Monach. p. 535, 536. Cedrenus, tom. ii, p. 551. Zonaras, tom. ii, p. 162.

Oleg, the guardian of the sons of Ruric.[q] A strong barrier of arms and fortifications defended the Bosphorus: they were eluded by the usual expedient of drawing the boats over the isthmus; and this simple operation is described in the national chronicles, as if the Russian fleet had sailed over dry land with a brisk and favourable gale. The leader of the third armament, Igor, the son of Ruric, had chosen a moment of weakness and decay, when the naval powers of the empire were employed against the Saracens. But if courage be not wanting, the instruments of defence are seldom deficient. Fifteen broken and decayed galleys were boldly launched against the enemy; but instead of the single tube of Greek fire usually planted on the prow, the sides and stern of each vessel were abundantly supplied with that liquid combustible. The engineers were dexterous: the weather was propitious: many thousand Russians, who chose rather to be drowned than burnt, leaped into the sea; and those who escaped to the Thracian shore were inhumanly slaughtered by the peasants and soldiers. Yet one-third of the canoes escaped into shallow water; and the next spring Igor was again prepared to retrieve his disgrace and claim his revenge.[r] After a long peace, Jaros-

CHAP. LV.

The third, A. D. 911.

[q] See Nestor and Nicon, in Levesque's Hist. de Russie, tom. i, p. 74-80. Katona (Hist. Ducum, p. 73-79) uses his advantage to disprove this Russian victory, which would cloud the siege of Kiow by the Hungarians.

[r] Leo Grammaticus, p. 506, 507. Incert. Contin. p. 263, 264. Simeon Logothet. p. 490, 491. Georg. Monach. p. 508, 509. Cedren. tom. ii, p. 629. Zonaras, tom. ii, p. 190, 191, and Liutprand, l. v, c. 6, who writes from the narratives of his father-in-law, then ambassador at Constantinople, and corrects the vain exaggeration of the Greeks.

CHAP. LV.

laus, the great-grandson of Igor, resumed the same project of a naval invasion. A fleet, under the command of his son, was repulsed at the entrance of the Bosphorus by the same artificial flames. But in the rashness of pursuit the vanguard of the Greeks was encompassed by an irresistible multitude of boats and men; their provision of fire was probably exhausted; and twenty-four galleys were either taken, sunk, or destroyed.*

The fourth, A. D. 1043.

Negotiations and prophecy.

Yet the threats or calamities of a Russian war were more frequently diverted by treaty than by arms. In these naval hostilities, every disadvantage was on the side of the Greeks: their savage enemy afforded no mercy; his poverty promised no spoil; his impenetrable retreat deprived the conqueror of the hopes of revenge; and the pride or weakness of empire indulged an opinion, that no honour could be gained or lost in the intercourse with barbarians. At first their demands were high and inadmissible, three pounds of gold for each soldier or mariner of the fleet: the Russian youth adhered to the design of conquest and glory; but the counsels of moderation were recommended by the hoary sages. "Be "content," they said, "with the liberal offers "of Cæsar; is it not far better to obtain, with- "out a combat, the possession of gold, silver, "silks, and all the objects of our desires? Are "we sure of victory? Can we conclude a treaty

* I can only appeal to Cedrenus (tom. ii, p. 756, 759) and Zonaras (tom. ii, p. 253, 254); but they grow more weighty and credible as they draw near to their own times.

" with the sea? We do not tread on the land; CHAP. LV.
" we float on the abyss of water, and a common
" death hangs over our heads."[t] The memory of these arctic fleets that seemed to descend from the polar circle, left a deep impression of terror on the imperial city. By the vulgar of every rank, it was asserted and believed, that an equestrian statue in the square of Taurus, was secretly inscribed with a prophecy, how the Russians, in the last days, should become masters of Constantinople.[u] In our own time, a Russian armament, instead of sailing from the Borysthenes, has circumnavigated the continent of Europe; and the Turkish capital has been threatened by a squadron of strong and lofty ships of war, each of which, with its naval science and thundering artillery, could have sunk or scattered an hundred canoes, such as those of their ancestors. Perhaps the present generation may yet behold the accomplishment of the prediction, of a rare prediction, of which the style is unambiguous and the date unquestionable.

By land the Russians were less formidable than by sea; and as they fought for the most part on foot, their irregular legions must often have been broken and overthrown by the cavalry of

Reign of Swatoslaus. A. D. 955-972.

[t] Nestor, apud Levesque, Hist. de Russie, tom. i, p. 87.

[u] This brazen statue, which had been brought from Antioch, and was melted down by the Latins, was supposed to represent either Joshua or Bellerophon; an odd dilemma. See Nicetas Choniates (p. 413, 414), Codinus (de Originibus, C. P. p. 24), and the anonymous writer de Antiquitat. C. P. (Banduri, Imp. Orient. tom. i, p. 17, 18), who lived about the year 1100. They witness the belief of the prophecy; the rest is immaterial

CHAP. LV.

the Scythian hordes. Yet their growing towns, however slight and imperfect, presented a shelter to the subject and a barrier to the enemy: the monarchy of Kiow, till a fatal partition, assumed the dominion of the North; and the nations from the Volga to the Danube were subdued or repelled by the arms of Swatoslaus,[x] the son of Igor, the son of Oleg, the son of Ruric. The vigour of his mind and body was fortified by the hardships of a military and savage life. Wrapt in a bear-skin, Swatoslaus usually slept on the ground, his head reclining on a saddle; his diet was coarse and frugal, and, like the heroes of Homer,[y] his meat (it was often horse-flesh) was broiled or roasted on the coals. The exercise of war gave stability and discipline to his army; and, it may be presumed, that no soldier was permitted to transcend the luxury of his chief. By an embassy from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, he was moved to undertake the conquest of Bulgaria, and a gift of fifteen hundred pounds of gold was laid at his feet to defray the expence, or reward the toils, of the expedition. An army of sixty thousand men was assembled and embarked; they sailed from the Borysthenes to the

[x] The life of Swatoslaus, or Sviatoslaf, or Sphendosthlabus, is extracted from the Russian chronicles by M. Levesque (Hist. de Russie, tom. i, p. 94-107).

[y] This resemblance may be clearly seen in the ninth book of the Iliad (205-221) in the minute detail of the cookery of Achilles. By such a picture, a modern epic poet would disgrace his work, and disgust his reader; but the Greek verses are harmonious; a dead language can seldom appear low or familiar; and at the distance of two thousand seven hundred years, we are amused with the primitive manners of antiquity.

Danube; their landing was effected on the Mæsian shore; and, after a sharp encounter, the swords of the Russians prevailed against the arrows of the Bulgarian horse. The vanquished king sunk into the grave; his children were made captive; and his dominions, as far as mount Hæmus, were subdued or ravaged by the northern invaders. But instead of relinquishing his prey, and performing his engagements, the Varangian prince was more disposed to advance than to retire; and, had his ambition been crowned with success, the seat of empire in that early period might have been transferred to a more temperate and fruitful climate. Swatoslaus enjoyed and acknowledged the advantages of his new position, in which he could unite, by exchange or rapine, the various productions of the earth. By an easy navigation he might draw from Russia the native commodities of furs, wax, and hydromel: Hungary supplied him with a breed of horses and the spoils of the West; and Greece abounded with gold, silver, and the foreign luxuries, which his poverty had affected to disdain. The bands of Patzinacites, Chozars, and Turks, repaired to the standard of victory; and the ambassador of Nicephorus betrayed his trust, assumed the purple, and promised to share with his new allies the treasures of the eastern world. From the banks of the Danube, the Russian prince pursued his march as far as Adrianople: a formal summons to evacuate the Roman province was dismissed with contempt; and Swatoslaus fiercely replied, that Constantinople might soon expect the presence of an enemy and a master.

CHAP. LV.

His defeat by John Zimisces, A. D. 970-973.

Nicephorus could no longer expel the mischief which he had introduced; but his throne and wife were inherited by John Zimisces,[x] who, in a diminutive body, possessed the spirit and abilities of an hero. The first victory of his lieutenants deprived the Russians of their foreign allies, twenty thousand of whom were either destroyed by the sword, or provoked to revolt, or tempted to desert. Thrace was delivered, but seventy thousand barbarians were still in arms; and the legions that had been recalled from the new conquests of Syria, prepared, with the return of the spring, to march under the banners of a warlike prince, who declared himself the friend and avenger of the injured Bulgaria. The passes of mount Hæmus had been left unguarded; they were instantly occupied; the Roman vanguard was formed of the *immortals* (a proud imitation of the Persian style); the emperor led the main body of ten thousand five hundred foot; and the rest of his forces followed in slow and cautious array with the baggage and military engines. The first exploit of Zimisces was the reduction of Marcianopolis, or Peristhlaba,[y] in two

[x] This singular epithet is derived from the Armenian language, and Τζιμισκης is interpreted in Greek by μυζακιζης, or μωρακιζης. As I profess myself equally ignorant of *these* words, I may be indulged in the question in the play, "Pray, which of you is the interpreter?" From the context, they seem to signify *Adolescentulus* (Leo Diacon. l. iv. MS. apud Du Cange, Glossar. Græc. p. 1570.)

[y] In the Sclavonic tongue, the name of Peristhlaba implied the great or illustrious city, μεγαλη και ωρα και λογιμη, says Anna Comnena (Alexiad l. vii, p. 194). From its position between mount Hæmus and the lower Danube, it appears to fill the ground, or at least the station, of Marcianopolis. The situation of Durostolus, or Dristra, is well known and conspicuous (Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. ix, p. 415, 416. D'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. i, p. 307, 311).

days: the trumpets sounded; the walls were scaled; eight thousand five hundred Russians were put to the sword; and the sons of the Bulgarian king were rescued from an ignominious prison, and invested with a nominal diadem. After these repeated losses, Swatoslaus retired to the strong post of Dristra, on the banks of the Danube, and was pursued by an enemy who alternately employed the arms of celerity and delay. The Byzantine gallies ascended the river; the legions completed a line of circumvallation; and the Russian prince was encompassed, assaulted, and famished, in the fortifications of the camp and city. Many deeds of valour were performed; several desperate sallies were attempted; nor was it till after a siege of sixty-five days that Swatoslaus yielded to his adverse fortune. The liberal terms which he obtained announce the prudence of the victor, who respected the valour, and apprehended the despair, of an unconquered mind. The great duke of Russia bound himself by solemn imprecations to relinquish all hostile designs; a safe passage was opened for his return; the liberty of trade and navigation was restored; a measure of corn was distributed to each of his soldiers; and the allowance of twenty-two thousand measures attests the loss and the remnant of the barbarians. After a painful voyage, they again reached the mouth of the Borysthenes; but their provisions were exhausted, the season was unfavourable; they passed the winter on the ice; and, before they

CHAP. LV.

could prosecute their march, Swatoslaus was surprised and oppressed by the neighbouring tribes, with whom the Greeks entertained a perpetual and useful correspondence.[a] Far different was the return of Zimisces, who was received in his capital like Camillus or Marius, the saviours of ancient Rome. But the merit of the victory was attributed by the pious emperor to the mother of God; and the image of the Virgin Mary, with the divine infant in her arms, was placed on a triumphal car, adorned with the spoils of war and the ensigns of Bulgarian royalty. Zimisces made his public entry on horseback; the diadem on his head, a crown of laurel in his hand; and Constantinople was astonished to applaud the martial virtues of her sovereign.[a]

Conversion of Russia, A. D. 861.

Photius of Constantinople, a patriarch whose ambition was equal to his curiosity, congratulates himself and the Greek church on the conversion of the Russians.[b] Those fierce and bloody barbarians had been persuaded by the voice of reason

[a] The political management of the Greeks, more especially with the Patzanicites, is explained in the seven first chapters, de Administratione Imperii.

[a] In the narrative of this war, Leo the Deacon (apud Pagi, Critica, tom. iv, A. D. 968-973) is more authentic and circumstantial than Cedrenus (tom. ii, p. 660-683) and Zonaras (tom. ii, p. 205-214). These declaimers have multiplied to 308,000 and 330,000 men, those Russian forces, of which the contemporary had given a moderate and consistent account.

[b] *Phot. Epistol.* ii, No. 35, p. 58, edit. Montacut. It was unworthy of the learning of the editor to mistake the Russian nation, τὸ Ῥῶς, for a war-cry of the Bulgarians; nor did it become the enlightened patriarch to accuse the Sclavonian idolaters τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ ἀθέου δόξης. They were neither Greeks nor atheists.

and religion to acknowledge Jesus for their God, the christian missionaries for their teachers, and the Romans for their friends and brethren. His triumph was transient and premature. In the various fortune of their piratical adventures, some Russian chiefs might allow themselves to be sprinkled with the waters of baptism; and a Greek bishop, with the name of metropolitan, might administer the sacraments in the church of Kiow, to a congregation of slaves and natives. But the seed of the gospel was sown on a barren soil: many were the apostates, the converts were few; and the baptism of Olga may be fixed as the æra of Russian Christianity.[c] A female, perhaps of the basest origin, who could revenge the death, and assume the sceptre of her husband Igor, must have been endowed with those active virtues which command the fear and obedience of barbarians. In a moment of foreign and domestic peace, she sailed from Kiow to Constantinople; and the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus has described with minute diligence the ceremonial of her reception in his capital and palace. The steps, the titles, the salutations, the banquet, the presents, were exquisitely adjusted, to gratify the vanity of the stranger, with due reverence to the superior majesty of the purple.[d]

Baptism of Olga, A. D. 955.

[c] M. Levesque has extracted, from old chronicles and modern researches, the most satisfactory account of the religion of the *Slavi*, and the conversion of Russia (Hist. de Russie, tom. i, p. 35-54, 59, 92, 93, 113-121, 124-129, 148, 149, &c.).

[d] See the Ceremoniale Aulæ Byzant. tom. ii, c. 15, p. 314-315: the style of Olga, ἡ Ἕλγα, is Ἀγγελικωτέρα Φωνῆ. For the chief of her

CHAP. LV.

In the sacrament of baptism, she received the venerable name of the empress Helena; and her conversion might be preceded or followed by her uncle, two interpreters, sixteen damsels, of an higher, and eighteen of a lower rank, twenty-two domestics or ministers, and forty-four Russian merchants, who composed the retinue of the great princess Olga. After her return to Kiow and Novogorod, she firmly persisted in her new religion; but her labours in the propagation of the gospel were not crowned with success; and both her family and nation adhered with obstinacy or indifference to the gods of their fathers. Her son Swatoslaus was apprehensive of the scorn and ridicule of his companions; and her grandson Wolodomir devoted his youthful zeal to multiply and decorate the monuments of ancient worship. The savage deities of the north were still propitiated with human sacrifices: in the choice of the victim, a citizen was preferred to a stranger, a christian to an idolater; and the father, who defended his son from the sacerdotal knife, was involved in the same doom by the rage of a fanatic tumult. Yet the lessons and example of the pious Olga had made a deep, though secret, impression on the minds of the prince and people: the Greek missionaries continued to preach, to dispute, and to baptize; and the ambassadors or merchants of Russia compared the idolatry of the woods with the elegant superstition of Constan-

barians the Greeks whimsically borrowed the title of an Athenian magistrate, with a female termination, which would have astonished the ear of Demosthenes.

CHAP. LV.

tinople. They had gazed with admiration on the dome of St Sophia, the lively pictures of saints and martyrs, the riches of the altar, the number and vestments of the priests, the pomp and order of the ceremonies; they were edified by the alternate succession of devout silence and harmonious song; nor was it difficult to persuade them, that a choir of angels descended each day from heaven to join in the devotion of the Christians.[e] But the conversion of Wolodomir was determined, or hastened, by his desire of a Roman bride. At the same time, and in the city of Cherson, the rites of baptism and marriage were celebrated by the christian pontiff: the city he restored to the emperor Basil, the brother of his spouse; but the brazen gates were transported, as it is said, to Novogorod, and erected before the first church as a trophy of his victory and faith.[f] At his despotic command, Peroun, the god of thunder, whom he had so long adored, was dragged through the streets of Kiow; and twelve sturdy barbarians battered with clubs the mishapen image, which was in-

of Wolodomir, A. D. 988.

[e] See an anonymous fragment published by Banduri (Imperium Orientale, tom. ii, p. 112, 113) de Conversione Russorum.

[f] Cherson, or Corsun, is mentioned by Herberstein (apud Pagi, tom. iv, p. 56) as the place of Wolodomir's baptism and marriage; and both the tradition and the gates are still preserved at Novogorod. Yet an observing traveller transports the brazen gates from Magdeburgh in Germany (Coxe's Travels into Russia, &c. vol. i, p. 452), and quotes an inscription, which seems to justify his opinion. The modern reader must not confound this old Cherson of the Tauric or Crimæan peninsula, with a new city of the same name, which has arisen near the mouth of the Borysthenes, and was lately honoured by the memorable interview of the empress of Russia with the emperor of the West.

CHAP. LV.

dignantly cast into the waters of the Borysthenes. The edict of Wolodomir had proclaimed that all who should refuse the rites of baptism would be treated as the enemies of God and their prince; and the rivers were instantly filled with many thousands of obedient Russians, who acquiesced in the truth and excellence of a doctrine which had been embraced by the great duke and his boyars. In the next generation, the relics of paganism were finally extirpated; but as the two brothers of Wolodomir had died without baptism, their bones were taken from the grave, and sanctified by an irregular and posthumous sacrament.

Christianity of the North, A. D. 860-1100.

In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries of the christian æra, the reign of the gospel and of the church was extended over Bulgaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Russia.[s] The triumphs of apostolic zeal were repeated in the iron age of Christianity; and the northern and eastern regions of Europe submitted to a religion, more different in theory than in practice, from the worship of their native idols. A laudable ambition excited the monks, both of Germany and Greece, to visit the tents and huts of the barbarians: poverty, hardships, and dangers, were the lot of the first missionaries: their courage was active and patient; their motive pure and meritorious: their present reward consisted in the testimony of their conscience and the respect of

[s] Consult the Latin text, or English version, of Mosheim's excellent history of the church, under the first head or section of each of these centuries.

a grateful people; but the fruitful harvest of their toils was inherited and enjoyed by the proud and wealthy prelates of succeeding times. The first conversions were free and spontaneous: an holy life and an eloquent tongue were the only arms of the missionaries; but the domestic fables of the pagans were silenced by the miracles and visions of the strangers; and the favourable temper of the chiefs was accelerated by the dictates of vanity and interest. The leaders of nations, who were saluted with the titles of kings and saints,[h] held it lawful and pious to impose the catholic faith on their subjects and neighbours: the coast of the Baltic, from Holstein to the gulf of Finland, was invaded under the standard of the cross; and the reign of idolatry was closed by the conversion of Lithuania in the fourteenth century. Yet truth and candour must acknowledge, that the conversion of the North imparted many temporal benefits both to the old and the new Christians. The rage of war, inherent to the human species, could not be healed by the evangelic precepts of charity and peace; and the ambition of catholic princes has renewed in every age the calamities of hostile contention. But the admission of the barbarians into the pale of civil and ecclesiastical society deli-

CHAP. LV.

[h] In the year 1000, the ambassadors of St Stephen received from pope Sylvester the title of king of Hungary, with a diadem of Greek workmanship. It had been designed for the duke of Poland; but the Poles, by their own confession, were yet too barbarous to deserve an *angelical* and *apostolical* crown (Katona, Hist. Critic. Regum Stirpis Arpadianæ, tom i, p. 1-20).

CHAP. LV.

vered Europe from the depredations, by sea and land, of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Russians, who learned to spare their brethren and cultivate their possessions.[1] The establishment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the clergy; and the rudiments of art and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe. The liberal piety of the Russian princes engaged in their service the most skilful of the Greeks, to decorate the cities and instruct the inhabitants: the dome and the paintings of St Sophia were rudely copied in the churches of Kiow and Novogorod: the writings of the fathers were translated into the Sclavonic idiom; and three hundred noble youths were invited or compelled to attend the lessons of the college of Jaroslaus. It should appear that Russia might have derived an early and rapid improvement from her peculiar connection with the church and state of Constantinople, which in that age so justly despised the ignorance of the Latins. But the Byzantine nation was servile, solitary, and verging to an hasty decline: after the fall of Kiow, the navigation of the Borysthenes was forgotten; the great princes of Wolodomir and Moscow were separated from the sea and Christendom; and the

[1] Listen to the exultations of Adam of Bremen (A. D. 1080), of which the substance is agreeable to truth: Ecce illa ferocissima Danorum, &c. natio .... jamdudum novit in Dei laudibus Alleluia resonare ..... Ecce populus ille piratious ..... suis nunc finibus contentus est. Ecce patria horribilis semper inaccesa propter cultum idolorum ... prædicatores veritatis ubique certatim admittit, &c. &c. (de Situ Daniæ, &c. p. 40, 41, edit. Elzevir): a curious and original prospect of the north of Europe, and the introduction of Christianity.

divided monarchy was oppressed by the ignominy and blindness of Tartar servitude.[k] The Sclavonic and Scandinavian kingdoms, which had been converted by the Latin missionaries, were exposed, it is true, to the spiritual jurisdiction and temporal claims of the popes;[l] but they were united, in language and religious worship, with each other, and with Rome: they imbibed the free and generous spirit of the European republic, and gradually shared the light of knowledge which arose on the western world.

[k] The great princes removed in 1156 from Kiow, which was ruined by the Tartars in 1240. Moscow became the seat of empire in the sixteenth century. See the first and second volumes of Levesque's History, and Mr Coxe's Travels into the North, *tom. i, p. 241, &c.*

[l] The ambassadors of St Stephen had used the reverential expressions of *regnum oblatum, debitam obedientiam, &c.* which were most rigorously interpreted by Gregory VII.; and the Hungarian catholics are distressed between the sanctity of the pope and the independence of the crown (Katona, Hist. Critica, tom. i, p. 20-25, tom. ii, p. 304, 346, 360, &c.).

CHAP. LVI.

The Saracens, Franks, and Greeks, in Italy.—First adventures and settlement of the Normans.—Character and conquests of Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia.—Deliverance of Sicily by his brother Roger.—Victories of Robert over the emperors of the East and West.—Roger, king of Sicily, invades Africa and Greece.—The emperor Manuel Comnenus.—Wars of the Greeks and Normans.—Extinction of the Normans.

CHAP. LVI.

Conflict of the Saracens, Latins and Greeks, in Italy, A. D. 840-1017.

THE three great nations of the world, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, encountered each other on the theatre of Italy.* The southern provinces, which now compose the kingdom of Naples, were subject, for the most part, to the

* For the general history of Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries, I may properly refer to the fifth, sixth, and seventh books of Sigonius de Regno Italiæ (in the second volume of his works, Milan, 1732); the Annals of Baronius, with the Criticism of Pagi; the seventh and eighth books of the Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli of Giannone; the seventh and eighth volumes (the octavo edition) of the Annali d'Italia of Muratori, and the 2d volume of the Abrego Chronologique of M. de St Marc, a work which, under a superficial title, contains much genuine learning and industry. But my long-accustomed reader will give me credit for saying, that I myself have ascended to the fountain-head, as often as such ascent could be either profitable or possible; and that I have diligently turned over the originals in the first volumes of Muratori's great collection of the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*.

Lombard dukes and princes of Beneventum;[b] so powerful in war, that they checked for a moment the genius of Charlemagne; so liberal in peace, that they maintained in their capital an academy of thirty-two philosophers and grammarians. The division of this flourishing state produced the rival principalities of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua; and the thoughtless ambition or revenge of the competitors invited the Saracens to the ruin of their common inheritance. During a calamitous period of two hundred years, Italy was exposed to a repetition of wounds, which the invaders were not capable of healing by the union and tranquillity of a perfect conquest. Their frequent and almost annual squadrons issued from the port of Palermo, and were entertained with too much indulgence by the Christians of Naples: the more formidable fleets were prepared on the African coast; and even the Arabs of Andalusia were sometimes tempted to assist or oppose the moslem of an adverse sect. In the revolution of human events, a new ambuscade was concealed in the Caudine forks, the fields of Cannæ were bedewed a second time with the blood of the Africans, and the sovereign of Rome again attacked or defended the walls of Capua and Tarentum. A colony of Saracens had been planted at Bari, which commands the entrance of the Adriatic gulf; and their impartial depredations provoked the resentment, and conciliated the union, of the two emperors. An

CHAP. LVI.

[b] Camillo Pellegrino, a learned Capuan of the last century, has illustrated the history of the duchy of Beneventum, in his two books, Historia Principum Longobardorum, in the Scriptores of Muratori, tom. ii, pars. i, p. 221-345, and tom. v, p. 159-243.

CHAP. LVI.

offensive alliance was concluded between Basil the Macedonian, the first of his race, and Lewis, the great grandson of Charlemagne;[c] and each party supplied the deficiencies of his associate. It would have been imprudent in the Byzantine monarch to transport his stationary troops of Asia to an Italian campaign; and the Latin arms would have been insufficient, if *his* superior navy had not occupied the mouth of the gulf. The fortress of Bari was invested by the infantry of the Franks, and by the cavalry and galleys of the Greeks; and, after a defence of four years, the Arabian emir submitted to the clemency of Lewis, who commanded in person the operations of the siege. This important conquest had been achieved by the concord of the East and West; but their recent amity was soon embittered by the mutual complaints of jealousy and pride. The Greeks assumed as their own the merit of the conquest and the pomp of the triumph; extolled the greatness of their powers, and affected to deride the intemperance and sloth of the handful of barbarians who appeared under the banners of the Carlovingian prince. His reply is expressed with the eloquence of indignation and truth: "We confess the magnitude of your preparations," says the great-grandson of Charlemagne. "Your armies were indeed as numerous as a cloud of summer locusts, who darken the day, flap their wings, and, after a short flight, tumble weary and breathless to the ground. Like them, ye sunk

Conquest of Bari, A. D. 871.

[c] See Constantin. Porphyrogen. de Thematibus, l. ii, c. xi, in Vit. Basil. c. 55, p. 181.

"after a feeble effort; ye were vanquished by your own cowardice, and withdrew from the scene of action to injure and despoil our christian subjects of the Sclavonian coast. We were few in number, and why were we few? because, after a tedious expectation of your arrival, I had dismissed my host, and retained only a chosen band of warriors to continue the blockade of the city. If they indulged their hospitable feasts in the face of danger and death, did these feasts abate the vigour of their enterprise? Is it by your fasting that the walls of Bari have been overturned? Did not these valiant Franks, diminished as they were by languor and fatigue, intercept and vanquish the three most powerful emirs of the Saracens? and did not their defeat precipitate the fall of the city? Bari is now fallen; Tarentum trembles; Calabria will be delivered; and, if we command the sea, the island of Sicily may be rescued from the hands of the infidels. My brother, (a name most offensive to the vanity of the Greek), accelerate your naval succours, respect your allies, and distrust your flatterers."[a]

CHAP. LVI.

These lofty hopes were soon extinguished by the death of Lewis, and the decay of the Carlovingian house; and whoever might deserve the honour, the Greek emperors, Basil, and his son

New province of the Greeks in Italy, A. D. 599.

[a] The original epistle of the emperor Lewis II, to the emperor Basil, a curious record of the age, was first published by Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 871, No. 51-71), from the Vatican MS. of Erchempert, or rather of the anonymous historian of Salerno.

CHAP. LVI. Leo, secured the advantage, of the reduction of Bari. The Italians of Apulia and Calabria were persuaded or compelled to acknowledge their supremacy, and an ideal line from mount Garganus to the bay of Salerno, leaves the far greater part of the kingdom of Naples under the dominion of the eastern empire. Beyond that line, the dukes or republics of Amalfi[e] and Naples, who had never forfeited their voluntary allegiance, rejoiced in the neighbourhood of their lawful sovereign; and Amalfi was enriched by supplying Europe with the produce and manufactures of Asia. But the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua[f] were reluctantly torn from the communion of the Latin world, and too often violated their oaths of servitude and tribute. The city of Bari rose to dignity and wealth, as the metropolis of the new theme or province of Lombardy; the title of patrician, and afterwards the singular name of *Catapan*,[g] was assigned to

[e] See an excellent dissertation de Republica Amalphitanâ, in the Appendix (p. 1-42) of Henry Brenckman's Historia Pandectarum (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1722, in 4to.).

[f] Your master, says Nicephorus, has given aid and protection principibus Capuanis et Beneventano, servis meis, quos oppugnare dispono . . . . . Nova (prima *nota*) res est quod eorum patres et avi nostro Imperio tributa dederunt (Liutprand, in Legat. p. 481). Salerno is not mentioned, but the prince changed his party about the same time, and Camillo Pellegrino (Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii, pars i, p. 264) has nicely discerned this change in the style of the anonymous chronicle. On the rational ground of history and language, Liutprand (p. 480) had asserted the Latin claim to Apulia and Calabria.

[g] See the Greek and Latin Glossaries of Ducange (Κατεπανω, *catapanus*) and his notes on the Alexias (p. 275). Against the contemporary notion, which derives it from Κατα παν, *juxta omne*, he treats it as a corruption of the Latin *capitaneus*. Yet M. de St Marc has

the supreme governor; and the policy both of the church and state was modelled in exact subordination to the throne of Constantinople. As long as the sceptre was disputed by the princes of Italy, their efforts were feeble and adverse; and the Greeks resisted or eluded the forces of Germany, which descended from the Alps under the imperial standard of the Othos. The first and greatest of those Saxon princes was compelled to relinquish the siege of Bari: the second, after the loss of his stoutest bishops and barons, escaped with honour from the bloody field of Crotona. On that day the scale of war was turned against the Franks by the valour of the Saracens.[h] These corsairs had indeed been driven by the Byzantine fleets from the fortresses and coasts of Italy; but a sense of interest was more prevalent than superstition or resentment, and the caliph of Egypt had transported forty thousand Moslems to the aid of his christian ally. The successors of Basil amused themselves with the belief, that the conquest of Lombardy had been achieved, and was still preserved, by the justice of their laws, the virtues of their ministers, and the gratitude of a people

CHAP. LVI.

Defeat of Otho III., A. D. 988.

accurately observed (Abregé Chronologique, tom. ii, p. 924), that in this age the capitanei were not *captains*, but only nobles of the first rank, the great valvassors of Italy.

[h] Ου μονον δια πολεμων δεινων επεταχθησαν το τουτων υπηκοον το εθνος (the Lombards), αλλα και αγχιστοις χρησαμενοι, και διπλωσυνη, και χρησονται επιεικως τε τοις προσερχομενοις προς ημας και την ελευθεριαν αυτοις ωσπερ τι δουλειας, και των αλλων φορολογιων χαριζομενοι (Leon. Tactic. c. xv, p. 171). The little Chronicle of Beneventum (tom. ii, pars i, p. 280) gives a far different character of the Greeks during the five years (A. D. 991 996) that Leo was master of the city.

CHAP. LVI.

whom they had rescued from anarchy and oppression. A series of rebellions might dart a ray of truth into the palace of Constantinople; and the illusions of flattery were dispelled by the easy and rapid success of the Norman adventurers.

Anecdotes.

The revolution of human affairs had produced in Apulia and Calabria, a melancholy contrast between the age of Pythagoras and the tenth century of the christian æra. At the former period, the coast of Great Greece (as it was then styled) was planted with free and opulent cities: these cities were peopled with soldiers, artists, and philosophers; and the military strength of Tarentum, Sybaris, or Crotona, was not inferior to that of a powerful kingdom. At the second æra, these once-flourishing provinces were clouded with ignorance, impoverished by tyranny, and depopulated by barbarian war; nor can we severely accuse the exaggeration of a contemporary, that a fair and ample district was reduced to the same desolation which had covered the earth after the general deluge.[1] Among the hostilities of the Arabs, the Franks, and the Greeks, in the southern Italy, I shall select two or three anecdotes expressive of their national manners.

A. D. 873.

1. It was the amusement of the Saracens to profane, as well as to pillage, the monasteries and churches. At the siege of Salerno, a Mussul-

[1] Calabrienses ædificant, eamque inter se divisam reperientes finditus depopulati sunt (or depopularunt) ita ut deserta sit velut in diluvio. Such is the text of Herempert, or Erchempert, according to the two editions of Caraccioli (Rer. Italic. Script. tom. v, p. 29) and Camillo Pellegrino (tom. ii, pars i, p. 240). Both were extremely scarce when they were reprinted by Muratori.

CHAP. LVI.

man chief spread his couch on the communion-table, and on that altar sacrificed each night the virginity of a christian nun. As he wrestled with a reluctant maid, a beam in the roof was accidentally or dexterously thrown down on his head; and the death of the lustful emir was imputed to the wrath of Christ, which was at length awakened to the defence of his faithful spouse.[k]

A. D. 874.

II. The Saracens besieged the cities of Beneventum and Capua: after a vain appeal to the successors of Charlemagne, the Lombards implored the clemency and aid of the Greek emperor.[l] A fearless citizen dropt from the walls, passed the entrenchments, accomplished his commission, and fell into the hands of the barbarians, as he was returning with the welcome news. They commanded him to assist their enterprize, and deceive his countrymen, with the assurance that wealth and honours should be the reward of his falsehood, and that his sincerity would be punished with immediate death. He affected to yield, but as soon as he was conducted within hearing of the Christians on the rampart, "Friends "and brethren," he cried with a loud voice, "be

[k] Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 874, No. 2), has drawn this story from a MS. of Erchempert, who died at Capua only fifteen years after the event. But the cardinal was deceived by a false title, and we can only quote the anonymous Chronicle of Salerno (Paralipomena, c. 110), composed towards the end of the tenth century, and published in the second volume of Muratori's Collection. See the Dissertations of Cavillo Pellegrino, tom. ii, pars i, 231-281, &c.

[l] Constantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Basil. c. 58, p. 183) is the original author of this story. He places it under the reigns of Basil and Lewis II.; yet the reduction of Beneventum by the Greeks is dated A. D. 891, after the decease of both of those princes.

CHAP. LVI.

"bold and patient, maintain the city; your sovereign is informed of your distress, and your deliverers are at hand. I know my doom, and commit my wife and children to your gratitude." The rage of the Arabs confirmed his evidence; and the self-devoted patriot was transpierced with an hundred spears. He deserves to live in the memory of the virtuous, but the repetition of the same story in ancient and modern times, may sprinkle some doubts on the reality of this generous deed.[m] III. The recital of the third incident may provoke a smile amidst the horrors of war. Theobald, marquis of Camerino and Spoleto,[n] supported the rebels of Beneventum; and his wanton cruelty was not incompatible in that age with the character of an hero. His captives of the Greek nation or party were castrated without mercy, and the outrage was aggravated by a cruel jest, that he wished to present the emperor with a supply of eunuchs, the most precious ornaments of the Byzantine

A. D. 930.

[m] In the year 663, the same tragedy is described by Paul the Deacon (de Gestis Langobard. l. v, c. 7, 8, p. 870, 871, edit. Grot.) under the walls of the same city of Beneventum. But the actors are different, and the guilt is imputed to the Greeks themselves, which in the Byzantine edition is applied to the Saracens. In the late war in Germany, M. d'Assas, a French officer of the regiment of Auvergne, *is said* to have devoted himself in a similar manner. His behaviour is the more heroic, as mere silence was required by the enemy who had made him prisoner (Voltaire, Siecle de Louis XV., c. 33, tom. ix, p. 172).

[n] Theobald, who is styled *Heros* by Liutprand, was properly duke of Spoleto and marquis of Camerino, from the year 926 to 985. The title and office of marquis (commander of the march or frontier) was introduced into Italy by the French emperors (Abregé Chronologique, tom. ii, p. 645-732, &c.)

court. The garrison of a castle had been defeated in a sally, and the prisoners were sentenced to the customary operation. But the sacrifice was disturbed by the intrusion of a frantic female, who, with bleeding cheeks, dishevelled hair, and importunate clamours, compelled the marquis to listen to her complaint. "Is it thus," she cried, "ye magnanimous heroes, that ye wage war a-"gainst women, against women who have never "injured ye, and whose only arms are the distaff "and the loom?" Theobald denied the charge, and protested, that since the Amazons, he had never heard of a female war. "And how," she furiously exclaimed, "can you attack us more "directly, how can you wound us in a more "vital part, than by robbing our husbands of "what we most dearly cherish, the source of "our joys and the hope of our posterity? The "plunder of our flocks and herds I have endured "without a murmur, but this fatal injury, this "irreparable loss, subdues my patience, and calls "aloud on the justice of heaven and earth." A general laugh applauded her eloquence; the savage Franks, inaccessible to pity, were moved by her ridiculous, yet rational despair; and with the deliverance of the captives, she obtained the restitution of her effects. As she returned in triumph to the castle, she was overtaken by a messenger, to enquire, in the name of Theobald, what punishment should be inflicted on her husband, were he again taken in arms? "Should "such," she answered without hesitation, "be

CHAP. LVI.

CHAP. LVI.

"his guilt and misfortune, he has eyes, and a "nose, and hands, and feet. These are his own, "and these he may deserve to forfeit by his "personal offences. But let my lord be pleased "to spare what his little handmaid presumes "to claim as her peculiar and lawful property."[o]

Origin of the Normans in Italy, A. D. 1016.

The establishment of the Normans in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily,[p] is an event most romantic in its origin, and in its consequences most important both to Italy and the Eastern empire. The broken provinces of the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, were exposed to every invader, and every sea and land were invaded by the adventurous spirit of the Scandinavian pirates. After a long indulgence of rapine and slaughter, a fair and ample territory was accepted, occupied, and named, by the Normans of France; they renounced their gods for the God of the Christians;[q] and the dukes of

[o] Liutprand, Hist. l. iv, c. iv, in the Rerum Italic. Scrip. tom. i, pars i, p. 453, 454. Should the licentiousness of the tale be questioned, I may exclaim with poor Sterne, that it is hard if I may not transcribe with caution, what a bishop could write without scruple! What if I had translated, ut viris certetis testiculos amputare, in quibus nostri corporis refocillatio, &c.?

[p] The original monuments of the Normans in Italy are collected in the fifth volume of Muratori, and among these we may distinguish the poem of William Apulus (p. 245-278) and the history of Galfridus (*Jeffery*) Malaterra (p. 537-607). Both were natives of France, but they wrote on the spot, in the age of the first conquerors (before A. D. 1100), and with the spirit of freemen. It is needless to recapitulate the compilers and critics of Italian history, Sigonius, Baronius, Pagi, Giannone, Muratori, St Marc, &c. whom I have always consulted, and never copied.

[q] Some of the first converts were baptized ten or twelve times, for the sake of the white garment usually given at this ceremony.

of Normandy acknowledged themselves the vassals of the successors of Charlemagne and Capet. The savage fierceness which they had brought from the snowy mountains of Norway, was refined, without being corrupted, in a warmer climate; the companions of Rollo insensibly mingled with the natives; they imbibed the manners, language,[r] and gallantry of the French nation; and in a martial age, the Normans might claim the palm of valour and glorious achievements. Of the fashionable superstitions, they embraced with ardour the pilgrimages of Rome, Italy, and the Holy Land. In this active devotion, their minds and bodies were invigorated by exercise: danger was the incentive, novelty the recompence; and the prospect of the world was decorated by wonder, credulity, and ambitious hope. They confederated for their mutual defence; and the robbers of the Alps, who had been allured by the garb of a pilgrim, were often chastised by the arm of a warrior. In one of these pious visits to the cavern of mount Garganus in Apulia, which had been sanctified by the

At the funeral of Rollo, the gifts to monasteries for the repose of his soul were accompanied by a sacrifice of one hundred captives. But in a generation or two, the national change was pure and general.

[r] The Danish language was still spoken by the Normans of Bayeux on the sea coast, at a time (A. D. 940) when it was already forgotten at Rouen, in the court and capital. Quem (Richard I) confestim pater Baiocas mittens Botoni nutritiæ suæ principi nutriendum tradidit, ut ibi *lingua* eruditus *Danica* suis exterisque hominibus sciret aperte dare responsa (Willelm. Gemeticensis de Ducibus Normannis, l. iii, c. 8, p. 623, edit. Camden). Of the vernacular and favourite idiom of William the Conqueror (A. D. 1035), Selden (Opera, tom. ii, p. 1610-1650) has given a specimen, obsolete and obscure even to antiquarians and lawyers.

CHAP. LVI.

apparition of the archangel Michael,* they were accosted by a stranger in the Greek habit, but who soon revealed himself as a rebel, a fugitive, and a mortal foe of the Greek empire. His name was Melo; a noble citizen of Bari, who, after an unsuccessful revolt, was compelled to seek new allies and avengers of his country. The bold appearance of the Normans revived his hopes and solicited his confidence: they listened to the complaints, and still more to the promises, of the patriot. The assurance of wealth demonstrated the justice of his cause; and they viewed, as the inheritance of the brave, the fruitful land which was oppressed by effeminate tyrants. On their return to Normandy, they kindled a spark of enterprize; and a small but intrepid band was freely associated for the deliverance of Apulia. They passed the Alps by separate roads, and in the disguise of pilgrims; but in the neighbourhood of Rome they were saluted by the chief of Bari, who supplied the more indigent with arms and horses, and instantly led them to the field of action. In the first conflict, their valour prevailed; but in the second engagement they were overwhelmed by the numbers and military engines of the Greeks, and indignantly retreated with their faces to the enemy. The unfortunate Melo ended his life, a suppliant at the court of Germany: his Norman followers, excluded from

* See Leandro Alberti (Descrizione d'Italie, p. 250) and Baronius (A. D. 493, No. 43). If the archangel inherited the temple and oracle, perhaps the cavern, of old Calchas the soothsayer (Strab. Geograph. l. vi. p. 435, 436), the catholics, on this occasion, have surpassed the Greeks in the elegance of their superstition.

their native and their promised land, wandered among the hills and vallies of Italy, and earned their daily subsistence by the sword. To that formidable sword, the princes of Capua, Beneventum, Salerno, and Naples, alternately appealed in their domestic quarrels; the superior spirit and discipline of the Normans gave victory to the side which they espoused; and their cautious policy observed the balance of power, least the preponderance of any rival state should render their aid less important and their service less profitable. Their first asylum was a strong camp in the depth of the marshes of Campania; but they were soon endowed by the liberality of the duke of Naples with a more plentiful and permanent seat. Eight miles from his residence, as a bulwark against Capua, the town of Aversa was built and fortified for their use; and they enjoyed as their own, the corn and fruits, the meadows and groves, of that fertile district. The report of their success attracted every year new swarms of pilgrims and soldiers: the poor were urged by necessity; the rich were excited by hope; and the brave and active spirits of Normandy were impatient of ease and ambitious of renown. The independent standard of Aversa afforded shelter and encouragement, to the outlaws of the province, to every fugitive who had escaped from the injustice or justice of his superiors; and these foreign associates were quickly assimilated in manners and language to the Gallic colony. The first leader of the Normans was count Rainulf; and, in the origin of society, pre-

CHAP. LVI.

Foundation of Aversa, A. D. 1030.

CHAP. LVI.

eminence of rank is the reward and the proof of superior merit.[t]

The Normans serve in Sicily, A. D. 1038.

Since the conquest of Sicily by the Arabs, the Grecian emperors had been anxious to regain that valuable possession; but their efforts, however strenuous, had been opposed by the distance and the sea. Their costly armaments, after a gleam of success, added new pages of calamity and disgrace to the Byzantine annals: twenty thousand of their best troops were lost in a single expedition; and the victorious Moslems derided the policy of a nation, which entrusted eunuchs not only with the custody of their women, but with the command of their men.[u] After a reign of two hundred years, the Saracens were ruined by their divisions.[x] The emir disclaimed the authority of the king of Tunis; the people rose against the emir; the cities were usurped by the chiefs; each meaner rebel was independent in his village or castle; and the weaker of two rival brothers implored the friendship of the Christians. In every service of danger the Nor-

[t] See the first book of William Apulus. His words are applicable to every swarm of barbarians and freebooters:

Si victorum quis *pernitiosus* ad illos
Confugiebat, cum gratante suscipiebant;
Moribus et linguâ quoscunque venire videbant
Informant propriâ; gens efficiatur ut una.

And elsewhere, of the native adventurers of Normandy:

Pars parat, exiguæ vel opes aderant quin nullæ;
Pars, quia de magnis majora subire volebant.

[u] Liutprand in Legatione, p. 485. Pagi has illustrated this event from the MS. history of the deacon Leo (tom. iv, A. D. 965, No. 17-19).

[x] See the Arabian Chronicle of Sicily, apud Muratori Script. Rerum Ital. tom. i, p. 259.

mans were prompt and useful; and five hundred *knights*, or warriors on horseback, were enrolled by Arduin, the agent and interpreter of the Greeks, under the standard of Maniaces, governor of Lombardy. Before their landing, the brothers were reconciled; the union of Sicily and Africa was restored; and the island was guarded to the water's edge. The Normans led the van, and the Arabs of Messina felt the valour of an untried foe. In a second action, the emir of Syracuse was unhorsed and transpierced by the *iron arm* of William of Hauteville. In a third engagement, his intrepid companions discomfited the host of sixty thousand Saracens, and left the Greeks no more than the labour of the pursuit: a splendid victory, but of which the pen of the historian may divide the merit with the lance of the Normans. It is, however, true, that they essentially promoted the success of Maniaces, who reduced thirteen cities, and the greater part of Sicily, under the obedience of the emperor. But his military fame was sullied by ingratitude and tyranny. In the division of the spoil, the deserts of his brave auxiliaries were forgotten: and neither their avarice nor their pride could brook this injurious treatment. They complained by the mouth of their interpreter: their complaint was disregarded; their interpreter was scourged; the sufferings were *his*; the insult and resentment belonged to *those* whose sentiments he had delivered. Yet they dissembled till they had obtained, or stolen, safe passage to the Italian continent: their bro-

CHAP. LVI.

Their conquest of Apulia, A. D. 1040-1043.

thren of Aversa sympathized in their indignation, and the province of Apulia was invaded as the forfeit of the debt.[y] Above twenty years after the first emigration, the Normans took the field with no more than seven hundred horse and five hundred foot; and after the recall of the Byzantine legions[z] from the Sicilian war, their numbers are magnified to the amount of threescore thousand men. Their herald proposed the option of battle or retreat: "of battle," was the unanimous cry of the Normans; and one of their stoutest warriors, with a stroke of his fist, felled to the ground the horse of the Greek messenger. He was dismissed with a fresh horse; the insult was concealed from the imperial troops; but in two successive battles they were more fatally instructed of the prowess of their adversaries. In the plains of Cannæ, the Asiatics fled before the adventurers of France; the duke of Lombardy was made prisoner; the Apulians acquiesced in a new dominion; and the four places of Bari, Otranto, Brundusium, and Tarentum, were alone saved in the shipwreck of the Grecian fortunes. From this æra we may date the establishment of the Norman power, which soon eclipsed the in-

[y] Jeffrey Malaterra, who relates the Sicilian war, and the conquest of Apulia (l. i, c. 7, 8, 9, 19). The same events are described by Cedrenus (tom. ii, p. 741-743, 753, 756) and Zonaras (tom. ii, p. 237, 238); and the Greeks are so hardened to disgrace, that their narratives are impartial enough.

[z] Cedrenus specifies the ταγμα of the Obsequiem (Phrygia), and the μερος of the Thracesians (Lydia; consult Constantine de Thematibus, i, 4, with Delisle's map); and afterwards names the Pisidians and Lycaonians with the fœderati.

fant colony of Aversa. Twelve counts[a] were chosen by the popular suffrage; and age, birth, and merit, were the motives of their choice. The tributes of their peculiar districts were appropriated to their use; and each count erected a fortress in the midst of his lands, and at the head of his vassals. In the centre of the province, the common habitation of Melphi was reserved as the metropolis and citadel of the republic; an house and separate quarter was allotted to each of the twelve counts; and the national concerns were regulated by this military senate. The first of his peers, their president and general, was entitled count of Apulia; and this dignity was conferred on William of the Iron Arm, who, in the language of the age, is styled a lion in battle, a lamb in society, and an angel in council.[b]

CHAP. LVI.

[a] Omnes conveniunt; et bis sex nobiliores,
Quos genus et gravitas morum decorabat et ætas,
Elegêre duces. Provectis ad comitatum
His alii parent. Comitatus nomen honoris
Quo donantur erat. Hi totas undique terras
Divisere sibi, ni sors inimica repugnet;
Singula proponunt loca quæ contingere forte
Cuique duci debent, et quæque tributa loquorum.

And after speaking of Melphi, William Apulus adds,

Pro numero comitum bis sex statuêre plateas,
Atque domus comitum totidem fabricantur in urbe.

Leo Ostiensis (l. ii, c. 67) enumerates the divisions of the Apulian cities, which it is needless to repeat.

[b] Guilelm. Apulus, l. ii, c. 12, according to the reference of Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii, p. 31), which I cannot verify in the original. The Apulian praises indeed his *validas vires*, *probitas animi*, and *vivida virtus*; and declares that, had he lived, no poet could have equalled his merits (l. i, p. 258, l. ii, p. 259). He was bewailed by the Normans, quippe qui tanti consilii virum (says Malaterra, l. i, c. 12, p. 552), tam armis strenuum, tam sibi munificum, affabilem morigeratum, ulteriùs se habere diffidebant.

CHAP. LVI.

The manners of his countrymen are fairly delineated by a contemporary and national historian.[c] "The Normans," says Malaterra, "are "a cunning and revengeful people; eloquence "and dissimulation appear to be their hereditary "qualities: they can stoop to flatter; but unless they are curbed by the restraint of law, "they indulge the licentiousness of nature and "passion. Their princes affect the praise of popular munificence; the people observe the medium, or rather blend the extremes, of avarice "and prodigality; and, in their eager thirst of "wealth and dominion, they despise whatever "they possess, and hope whatever they desire. "Arms and horses, the luxury of dress, the exercises of hunting and hawking,[d] are the delight of the Normans; but on pressing occasions they can endure with incredible patience "the inclemency of every climate, and the toil "and abstinence of a military life."[e]

Character of the Normans.

Oppression of Apulia, A. D. 1046, &c.

The Normans of Apulia were seated on the verge of the two empires; and, according to the policy of the hour, they accepted the investiture of their lands from the sovereigns of Germany or Constantinople. But the firmest title of these adventurers was the right of conquest: they nei-

[c] The gens astutissima, injuriarum ultrix ..... adulari sciens ..... eloquentiis inservions, of Malaterra (l. i, c. 3, p. 550), are expressive of the popular and proverbial character of the Normans.

[d] The hunting and hawking more properly belong to the *descendants* of the Norwegians sailors; though they might import from Norway and Iceland the finest casts of falcons.

[e] We may compare this portrait with that of William of Malmsbury (de Gestis Anglorum, l. iii, p. 101, 102), who appreciates, like a philosophic historian, the vices and virtues of the Saxons and Normans. England was assuredly a gainer by the conquest.

ther loved nor trusted; they were neither trusted nor beloved; the contempt of the princes was mixed with fear, and the fear of the natives was mingled with hatred and resentment. Every object of desire, a horse, a woman, a garden, tempted and gratified the rapaciousness of the strangers;[f] and the avarice of their chiefs was only coloured by the more specious names of ambition and glory. The twelve counts were sometimes joined in a league of injustice: in their domestic quarrels, they disputed the spoils of the people: the virtues of William were buried in his grave; and Drogo, his brother and successor, was better qualified to lead the valour, than to restrain the violence, of his peers. Under the reign of Constantine Monomachus, the policy, rather than benevolence, of the Byzantine court, attempted to relieve Italy from this adherent mischief, more grievous than a flight of barbarians;[g] and Argyrus, the son of Melo, was invested for this purpose with the most lofty titles[h] and the most ample commission. The me-

CHAP. LVI.

[f] The biographer of St Leo IX. pours his holy venom on the Normans. Videns indisciplinatam et alienam gentem Normannorum, crudeli et inauditâ rabie, et plusquam Paganâ impietate, adversùs ecclesias Dei insurgere, passim christinnos trucidare, &c. (Wibert, c. 6). The honest Apulian (l. ii, p. 259) says calmly of their accuser, Veris commiscens fallacia.

[g] The policy of the Greeks, revolt of Maniaces, &c. must be collected from Cedrenus (tom. ii, p. 757, 758); William Apulus (l. i, p. 257, 258, l. ii, p. 259); and the two chronicles of Bari, by Lupus Protospata (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. v, p. 42, 43, 44); and an anonymous writer (Antiquitat. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. i, p. 31-35). This last is a fragment of some value.

[h] Argyrus received, says the anonymous Chronicle of Bari, imperial letters, Fœderatûs et Patricintûs, et Catapani et Vestatûs. In

CHAP. LVI.

mory of his father might recommend him to the Normans; and he had already engaged their voluntary service to quell the revolt of Maniaces, and to avenge their own and the public injury. It was the design of Constantine to transplant this warlike colony from the Italian provinces to the Persian war; and the son of Melo distributed among the chiefs the gold and manufactures of Greece, as the first fruits of the imperial bounty. But his arts were baffled by the sense and spirit of the conquerors of Apulia: his gifts, or at least his proposals, were rejected; and they unanimously refused to relinquish their possessions and their hopes for the distant prospect of Asiatic fortune. After the means of persuasion had failed, Argyrus resolved to compel or to destroy: the Latin powers were solicited against the common enemy; and an offensive alliance was formed of the pope and the two emperors of the East and West. The throne of St Peter was occupied by Leo the Ninth, a simple saint,[1] of a temper most apt to deceive himself and the world, and whose venerable character would consecrate with the name of piety the measures least compatible with the practice of religion. His humanity was

League of the pope and the two empires, A. D. 1049-1054.

his Annals, Muratori (tom. viii, p. 436) very properly reads, or interprets, *Sevastus*, the title of Sebastos or Augustus. But in his Antiquities, he was taught by Ducange to make it a palatine office, master of the wardrobe.

[1] A life of St Leo IX., deeply tinged with the passions and prejudices of the age, has been composed by Wibert, printed at Paris, 1615, in octavo, and since inserted in the Collections of the Bollandists, of Mabillon, and of Muratori. The public and private history of that pope is diligently treated by M. de St Marc (Abregé, tom. ii, p. 140-210, and p. 25-95, second column).

affected by the complaints, perhaps the calumnies, of an injured people: the impious Normans had interrupted the payment of tithes; and the temporal sword might be lawfully unsheathed against the sacrilegious robbers, who were deaf to the censures of the church. As a German of noble birth and royal kindred, Leo had free access to the court and confidence of the emperor Henry the Third; and in search of arms and allies, his ardent zeal transported him from Apulia to Saxony, from the Elbe to the Tiber. During these hostile preparations, Argyrus indulged himself in the use of secret and guilty weapons: a crowd of Normans became the victims of public or private revenge; and the valiant Drogo was murdered in a church. But his spirit survived in his brother Humphrey, the third count of Apulia. The assassins were chastised; and the son of Melo, overthrown and wounded, was driven from the field to hide his shame behind the walls of Bari, and to await the tardy succour of his allies. CHAP. LVI. A. D. 1051.

Expedition of pope Leo IX. against the Normans, A. D. 1053.

But the power of Constantine was distracted by a Turkish war; the mind of Henry was feeble and irresolute; and the pope, instead of repassing the Alps with a German army, was accompanied only by a guard of seven hundred Swabians and some volunteers of Lorraine. In his long progress from Mantua to Beneventum, a vile and promiscuous multitude of Italians was enlisted under the holy standard:[k] the priest and

[k] See the expedition of Leo IX. against the Normans. See William Apulus (l. ii, p. 259-261) and Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i, c. 13, 14, 15,

CHAP. LVI.

the robber slept in the same tent; the pikes and crosses were intermingled in the front; and the martial saint repeated the lessons of his youth in the order of march, of encampment, and of combat. The Normans of Apulia could muster in the field no more than three thousand horse, with an handful of infantry: the defection of the natives intercepted their provisions and retreat; and their spirit, incapable of fear, was chilled for a moment by superstitious awe. On the hostile approach of Leo, they knelt without disgrace or reluctance before their spiritual father. But the pope was inexorable; his lofty Germans affected to deride the diminutive stature of their adversaries; and the Normans were informed that death or exile was their only alternative. Flight they disdained, and as many of them had been three days without tasting food, they embraced the assurance of a more easy and honourable death. They climbed the hill of Civitella, descended into the plain, and charged in three divisions the army of the pope. On the left, and in the centre, Richard, count of Aversa, and Robert, the famous Guiscard, attacked, broke, routed, and pursued, the Italian multitudes, who fought without discipline, and fled without shame. A harder trial was reserved for the valour of count Humphrey, who led the cavalry of the right wing. The Germans[1] have been described as unskilful

His defeat and captivity, June 18.

p. 253). They are impartial, as the national is counterbalanced by the clerical prejudice.

[1] Teutonici quia cæsaries et forma decorus
Fecerat egregie proceri corporis illos
Corpora derident Normannica quæ breviora
Esse videbantur.

The verses of the Apulian are commonly in this strain, though he

in the management of the horse and lance: but on foot they formed a strong and impenetrable phalanx; and neither man, nor steed, nor armour, could resist the weight of their long and two-handed swords. After a severe conflict, they were encompassed by the squadrons returning from the pursuit, and died in their ranks with the esteem of their foes, and the satisfaction of revenge. The gates of Civitella were shut against the flying pope, and he was overtaken by the pious conquerors, who kissed his feet, to implore his blessing and the absolution of their sinful victory. The soldiers beheld in their enemy and captive the vicar of Christ; and, though we may suppose the policy of the chiefs, it is probable that they were infected by the popular superstition. In the calm of retirement, the well-meaning pope deplored the effusion of christian blood, which must be imputed to his account; he felt, that he had been the author of sin and scandal; and as his undertaking had failed, the indecency of his military character was universally condemned.[m] With these dispositions, he listened to the offers of a beneficial treaty; deserted an alliance which he had preached as the cause of God; and ratified the past and

CHAP. LVI.

beats himself a little in the battle. Two of his similies from hawking and sorcery are descriptive of manners.

[m] Several respectable censures or complaints are produced by M. de St Marc (tom. ii, p. 200-204). As Peter Damianus, the oracle of the times, had denied the popes the right of making war, the hermit (lugens eremi incola) is arraigned by the cardinal, and Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 1053, No. 10-17) most strenuously asserts the two swords of St Peter.

CHAP. LVI.

Origin of the papal investiture to the Normans.

future conquests of the Normans. By whatever hands they had been usurped, the provinces of Apulia and Calabria were a part of the donation of Constantine and the patrimony of St Peter: the grant and the acceptance confirmed the mutual claims of the pontiff and the adventurers. They promised to support each other with spiritual and temporal arms; a tribute or quit-rent of twelvepence was afterwards stipulated for every plough land; and since this memorable transaction, the kingdom of Naples has remained above seven hundred years a fief of the Holy See.[n]

Birth and character of Robert Guiscard, A. D. 1020-1085.

The pedigree of Robert Guiscard[o] is variously deduced from the peasants and the dukes of Normandy; from the peasants, by the pride and ignorance of a Grecian princess;[p] from the dukes, by the ignorance and flattery of the Italian sub-

[n] The origin and nature of the papal investitures are ably discussed by Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii, p. 37-49, 57-66) as a lawyer and antiquarian. Yet he vainly strives to reconcile the duties of patriot and catholic, adopts an empty distinction of "Ecclesia Romana non dedit sed accepit," and shrinks from an honest but dangerous confession of the truth.

[o] The birth, character, and first actions of Robert Guiscard, may be found in Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i, c. 3, 4, 11, 16, 17, 18, 38, 39, 40), William Apulus (l. ii, p. 260-262), William Gemeticensis or of Jumieges (l. xi, c. 30, p. 663, 664, edit. Camden), and Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. i, p. 23-27, l. vi, p. 165, 166), with the annotations of Ducange (Not. in Alexiad, p. 230, 232, 320), who has swept all the French and Latin chronicles for supplemental intelligence.

[p] Ο δε Ρομπιτες (a Greek corruption) ατος ην Νορμαννος το γενος, την τυχην ασημος .... Again, εξ αφανους πανυ τυχης περιφανης. And elsewhere (l. iv, p. 84), απο ισχατης πενιας και τυχης αφανους. Anna Comnena was born in the purple; yet her father was no more than a private though illustrious subject, who raised himself to the empire.

jects.[q] His genuine descent may be ascribed to the second or middle order of private nobility.[r] He sprang from a race of *valvassors* or *bannerets*, of the diocese of the Coutances, in the lower Normandy: the castle of Hauteville was their honourable seat; his father Tancred was conspicuous in the court and army of the duke; and his military service was furnished by ten soldiers or knights. Two marriages, of a rank not unworthy of his own, made him the father of twelve sons, who were educated at home by the impartial tenderness of his second wife. But a narrow patrimony was insufficient for this numerous and daring progeny; they saw around the neighbourhood the mischiefs of poverty and discord, and resolved to seek in foreign wars a more glorious inheritance. Two only remained to perpetuate the race, and cherish their father's age: their ten brothers, as they successively attained the vigour of manhood, departed from the castle, passed the Alps, and joined the Apulian camp of the Normans. The elder were prompted by

CHAP. LVI.

[q] Giannone (tom. ii, p. 2) forgets all his original authors, and rests this princely descent on the credit of Inveges, an Augustine monk of Palermo in the last century. They continue the succession of dukes from Rollo to William II. the bastard or conqueror, whom they hold (communemente si tiene) to be the father of Tancred of Hauteville: . most strange and stupendous blunder! The sons of Tancred fought in Apulia, before William II. was three years old (A. D. 1057).

[r] The judgment of Ducange is just and moderate: Certè humilis fuit ac tenuis Roberti familia, si ducalem et regium spectemus spicem, ad quem postea pervenit; quæ honesta tamen et præter nobilium vulgarium statum et conditionem illustris habita est, "quæ nec humi reperet nec altum quid tumeret." (Wilhelm. Malmsbur. de Gestis Anglorum, l. iii, p. 107. Not. ad Alexiad, p. 290).

CHAP. LVI.

native spirit; their success encouraged their younger brethren, and the three first in seniority, William, Drogo, and Humphrey, deserved to be the chiefs of their nation and the founders of the new republic. Robert was the eldest of the seven sons of the second marriage; and even the reluctant praise of his foes has endowed him with the heroic qualities of a soldier and a statesman. His lofty stature surpassed the tallest of his army: his limbs were cast in the true proportion of strength and gracefulness; and to the decline of life he maintained the patient vigour of health and the commanding dignity of his form. His complexion was ruddy, his shoulders were broad, his hair and beard were long, and of a flaxen colour, his eyes sparkled with fire, and his voice, like that of Achilles, could impress obedience and terror amidst the tumult of battle. In the ruder ages of chivalry, such qualifications are not below the notice of the poet or historian: they may observe that Robert, at once, and with equal dexterity, could wield in the right hand his sword, his lance in the left; that in the battle of Civitella, he was thrice unhorsed; and that in the close of that memorable day he was adjudged to have borne away the prize of valour from the warriors of the two armies.* His

* I shall quote with pleasure some of the best lines of the Apulian (l. iii. p. 270).

Pugnat utrâque manû, nec lancea cassa, nec ensis
Cassus erat, quocunque manu deducere vellet.
Ter dejectus equo, ter viribus ipse recumptis
Major in arma redit: stimulos furor ipse ministrat.

boundless ambition was founded on the consciousness of superior worth: in the pursuit of greatness, he was never arrested by the scruples of justice, and seldom moved by the feelings of humanity: though not insensible of fame, the choice of open or clandestine means was determined only by his present advantage. The surname of *Guiscard*[t] was applied to this master of political wisdom, which is too often confounded with the practice of dissimulation and deceit; and Robert is praised by the Apulian poet for excelling the cunning of Ulysses and the eloquence of Cicero. Yet these arts were disguised by an appearance of military frankness: in his highest fortune he was accessible and courteous to his fellow-soldiers; and while he indulged the prejudices of his new subjects, he affected in his dress and manners to maintain the ancient fashion of his country. He grasped with a rapacious, that he might distribute with a liberal, hand: his primitive indigence had taught the habits of frugality; the gain of a merchant was not below his attention; and his prisoners were tortured with slow and unfeeling cruelty to force a discovery of their secret treasure. According to the Greeks, he departed from Normandy with only

CHAP. LVI.

Ut Leo cum frendens, &c.

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Nullus in hoc bello sicuti post bella probatum est
Victor vel victus, tam magnos edidit ictus.

[t] The Norman writers and editors most conversant with their own idiom, interpret *Guiscard*, or *Wiscard*, by *Callidus*, a cunning man. The root (*wise*) is familiar to our ear; and in the old word *Wisenere*, I can discern something of a similar sense and termination. Την ψυχην πανουργοτατος, is no bad translation of the surname and character of Robert.

CHAP. LVI.

five followers on horseback and thirty on foot; yet even this allowance appears too bountiful: the sixth son of Tancred of Hauteville passed the Alps as a pilgrim; and his first military band was levied among the adventurers of Italy. His brothers and countrymen had divided the fertile lands of Apulia; but they guarded their shares with the jealousy of avarice: the aspiring youth was driven forwards to the mountains of Calabria, and in his first exploits against the Greeks and the natives, it is not easy to discriminate the hero from the robber. To surprise a castle or a convent, to ensnare a wealthy citizen, to plunder the adjacent villages for necessary food, were the obscure labours which formed and exercised the powers of his mind and body. The volunteers of Normandy adhered to his standard; and, under his command, the peasants of Calabria assumed the name and character of Normans.

His ambition and success, A. D. 1051-1080.

As the genius of Robert expanded with his fortune, he awakened the jealousy of his elder brother, by whom, in a transient quarrel, his life was threatened and his liberty restrained. After the death of Humphrey, the tender age of his sons excluded them from the command; they were reduced to a private estate by the ambition of their guardian and uncle; and Guiscard was exalted on a buckler, and saluted count of Apulia and general of the republic. With an increase of authority and of force, he resumed the conquest of Calabria, and soon aspired to a rank that should raise him for ever above the heads of his equals. By some acts of rapine or sacrilege,

he had incurred a papal excommunication: but Nicholas the Second was easily persuaded, that the divisions of friends could terminate only in their mutual prejudice; that the Normans were the faithful champions of the Holy See; and it was safer to trust the alliance of a prince than the caprice of an aristocracy. A synod of one hundred bishops was convened at Melphi; and the count interrupted an important enterprize to guard the person and execute the decrees of the Roman pontiff. His gratitude and policy conferred on Robert and his posterity, the ducal title,[u] with the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and all the lands, both in Italy and Sicily, which his sword could rescue from the schismatic Greeks and the unbelieving Saracens.[x] This apostolic sanction might justify his arms; but the obedience of a free and victorious people could not be transferred without their consent; and Guiscard dissembled his elevation till the ensuing campaign had been illustrated by the conquest of Consenza and Reggio. In the hour of triumph, he assembled his troops, and solicited the Normans to confirm by their suffrage the judgment of the vicar of Christ: the soldiers hailed with joyful acclamations their valiant duke; and

CHAP. LVI.

[u] The acquisition of the ducal title by Robert Guiscard is a nice and obscure business. With the good advice of Giannone, Muratori, and St Marc, I have endeavoured to form a consistent and probable narrative.

[x] Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 1079, No. 69) has published the original act. He professes to have copied it from the *Liber Censuum*, a Vatican MS. Yet a Liber Censuum of the twelfth century has been printed by Muratori (Antiquit. medii Ævi, tom. v, p. 851-908); and the names of Vatican and Cardinal awaken the suspicions of a protestant, and even of a philosopher.

CHAP. LVI.

the counts, his former equals, pronounced the oath of fidelity, with hollow smiles and secret indignation. After this inauguration, Robert styled himself, "by the grace of God and St Peter, duke of Apulia, Calabria, and hereafter of Sicily;" and it was the labour of twenty years to deserve and realize these lofty appellations. Such tardy progress, in a narrow space, may seem unworthy of the abilities of the chief and the spirit of the nation: but the Normans were few in number; their resources were scanty; their service was voluntary and precarious. The bravest designs of the duke were sometimes opposed by the free voice of his parliament of barons: the twelve counts of popular election, conspired against his authority; and against their perfidious uncle, the sons of Humphrey demanded justice and revenge. By his policy and vigour, Guiscard discovered their plots, suppressed their rebellions, and punished the guilty with death or exile: but in these domestic feuds, his years, and the national strength, were unprofitably consumed. After the defeat of his foreign enemies, the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, their broken forces retreated to the strong and populous cities of the sea-coast. They excelled in the arts of fortification and defence; the Normans were accustomed to serve on horseback in the field, and their rude attempts could only succeed by the efforts of persevering courage. The resistance of Salerno was maintained above eight months: the siege or blockade of Bari lasted near four years. In these actions the Norman

Duke of Apulia, A. D. 1060.

duke was the foremost in every danger; in every fatigue the last and most patient. As he pressed the citadel of Salerno, an huge stone from the rampart shattered one of his military engines; and by a splinter he was wounded in the breast. Before the gates of Bari, he lodged in a miserable hut or barrack, composed of dry branches, and thatched with straw; a perilous station, on all sides open to the inclemency of the winter and the spears of the enemy.[1]

His Italian conquests.

The Italian conquests of Robert correspond with the limits of the present kingdom of Naples; and the countries united by his arms have not been dissevered by the revolutions of seven hundred years.[2] The monarchy has been composed of the Greek provinces of Calabria and Apulia, of the Lombard principality of Salerno, the republic of Amalphi, and the inland dependencies of the large and ancient dutchy of Beneventum. Three districts only were exempted from the common law of subjection; the first for ever, and the two last till the middle of the succeeding century. The city and immediate territory of Benevento had been transferred, by gift or exchange, from the German emperor to the Roman pontiff; and although this holy land was sometimes invaded, the name of St Peter was

[1] Read the life of Guiscard in the second and third books of the Apulian, the first and second books of Malaterra.

[2] The conquests of Robert Guiscard and Roger I. the exemption of Benevento and the 12 provinces of the kingdom, are fairly exposed by Giannone in the second volume of his Istoria Civile, l. ix, x, xi, and l. xvii, p. 460-470. This modern division was not established before the time of Frederic II.

CHAP. LVI.

finally more potent than the sword of the Normans. Their first colony of Aversa subdued and held the state of Capua; and her princes were reduced to beg their bread before the palace of their fathers. The dukes of Naples, the present metropolis, maintained the popular freedom, under the shadow of the Byzantine empire. Among the new acquisitions of Guiscard, the science of Salerno,[a] and the trade of Amalphi,[b] may detain for a moment the curiosity of the reader. 1. Of the learned faculties, jurisprudence implies the previous establishment of laws and property; and theology may perhaps be superseded by the full light of religion and reason. But the savage and the sage must alike implore the assistance of physic; and, if *our* diseases are inflamed by luxury, the mischiefs of blows and wounds would be more frequent in the ruder ages of society. The treasures of Grecian medicine had been communicated to the Arabian colonies of Africa, Spain, and Sicily; and in the intercourse of peace and war a spark of knowledge had been kindled and cherished at Salerno, an illustrious city, in which the men were honest, and the wo-

School of Salerno.

[a] Giannone (tom. ii, p. 119-127), Muratori Antiquitat. medii Ævi (tom. iii, dissert. xliv, p. 935, 936), and Tiraboschi (Istoria della Letteratura Italiana) have given an historical account of these physicians; their medical knowledge and practice must be left to our physicians.

[b] At the end of the Historia Pandectarum of Henry Brenckman (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1722, in 4to.), the indefatigable author has inserted two dissertations, de Republica Amalphitanâ, and de Amalphi a Pisanis direpta, which are built on the testimonies of one hundred and forty writers. Yet he has forgotten two most important passages of the embassy of Liutprand (A. D. 969), which compare the trade and navigation of Amalphi with that of Venice.

men beautiful.[c] A school, the first that arose in the darkness of Europe, was consecrated to the healing art: the conscience of monks and bishops was reconciled to that salutary and lucrative profession; and a crowd of patients, of the most eminent rank, and most distant climates, invited or visited the physicians of Salerno. They were protected by the Norman conquerors; and Guiscard, though bred in arms, could discern the merit and value of a philosopher. After a pilgrimage of thirty-nine years, Constantine, an African Christian, returned from Bagdad, a master of the language and learning of the Arabians; and Salerno was enriched by the practice, the lessons, and the writings, of the pupil of Avicenna. The school of medicine has long slept in the name of an university; but her precepts are abridged in a string of aphorisms, bound together in the leonine verses, or Latin rhymes, of the twelfth century.[d] II. Seven miles to the west of Salerno, and thirty to the south of Naples, the obscure town of Amalphi displayed the power and rewards of industry. The land, however fertile, was of narrow extent; but the sea was ac-

CHAP. LVI.

Trade of Amalphi.

Urbs Latii non est hac delitiosior urbe,
Frugibus arboribus vino redundat; et unde
Non tibi poma, nuces, non pulchra palatia desunt,
Non species mulichris abest p obtutusque virorum.
(Guilelmus Appulus, l. iii, p. 267).

[c] Muratori carries their antiquity above the year (1060) of the death of Edward the Confessor, the *rex Anglorum* to whom they are addressed. Nor is this date affected by the opinion, or rather mistake, of Pasquier (Recherches de la France, l. vii, c. 2) and Ducange (Gloss. Latin.). The practice of rhyming, as early as the seventh century, was borrowed from the languages of the North and East (Muratori, Antiquitat. tom. iii, dissert. xl, p. 686-700).

CHAP. LVI.

cessible and open: the inhabitants first assumed the office of supplying the western world with the manufactures and productions of the East; and this useful traffic was the source of their opulence and freedom. The government was popular under the administration of a duke and the supremacy of the Greek emperor. Fifty thousand citizens were numbered in the walls of Amalphi; nor was any city more abundantly provided with gold, silver, and the objects of precious luxury. The mariners who swarmed in her port excelled in the theory and practice of navigation and astronomy; and the discovery of the compass, which has opened the globe, is due to their ingenuity or good fortune. Their trade was extended to the coasts, or at least to the commodities, of Africa, Arabia, and India; and their settlements in Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, acquired the privileges of independent colonies.[e] After three hundred years of prosperity, Amalphi was oppressed by the arms of the Normans, and sacked by the jealousy of Pisa; but the poverty of one thousand fishermen is yet dignified by the remains of an arsenal, a cathedral, and the palaces of royal merchants.

[e] The description of Amalphi, by William the Apulian (l. iii, p. 267), contains much truth and some poetry; and the third line may be applied to the sailor's compass:

Nulla magis locuples argento, vestibus, auro
Partibus innumeris: hac plurimus urbe moratur
Nauta *maris cœlique vias aperire peritus.*
Huc et Alexandri diversa feruntur ab urbe
Regis, et Antiochi. Gens hæc freta plurima transit.
His Arabes, Indi, Siculi nascuntur et Afri.
Hæc gens est totum prope nobilitate per orbem,
Et mercando ferens, et amans mercata referre

CHAP. LVI.

Conquest of Sicily by count Roger. A. D. 1060-1090.

Roger, the twelfth and last of the sons of Tancred, had been long detained in Normandy by his own and his father's age. He accepted the welcome summons; hastened to the Apulian camp; and deserved at first the esteem, and afterwards the envy, of his elder brother. Their valour and ambition were equal; but the youth, the beauty, the elegant manners, of Roger, engaged the disinterested love of his soldiers and people. So scanty was his allowance, for himself and forty followers, that he descended from conquest to robbery, and from robbery to domestic theft; and so loose were the notions of property, that, by his own historian, at his special command, he is accused of stealing horses from a stable at Melphi.[f] His spirit emerged from poverty and disgrace: from these base practices he rose to the merit and glory of a holy war; and the invasion of Sicily was seconded by the zeal and policy of his brother Guiscard. After the retreat of the Greeks, the *idolaters*, a most audacious reproach of the catholics, have retrieved their losses and possessions; but the deliverance of the island, so vainly undertaken by the forces of the Eastern empire, was atchieved by a small and private band of adven-

[f] Latrocinio armigerorum suorum in multis sustentabatur, quod quidem ad ejus ignominiam non dicimus: sed ipso ita præcipiente adhuc viliora et reprehensibiliora dicturi sumus ut pluribus pateseat, quàm laboriose et cum quantâ angustiâ a profundâ paupertate ad summum culmen divitiarum vel honoris attigerit. Such is the preface of Malaterra (l. i, c. 25) to the horse-stealing. From the moment (l. i, c. 10) that he has mentioned his patron Roger, the elder brother sinks into the second character. Something similar in Velleius Paterculus may be observed of Augustus and Tiberius.

CHAP. LVI.

turers.[s] In the first attempt, Roger braved, in an open boat, the real and fabulous dangers of Scylla and Charybdis; landed with only sixty soldiers on a hostile shore; drove the Saracens to the gates of Messina; and safely returned with the spoils of the adjacent country. In the fortress of Trani, his active and patient courage were equally conspicuous. In his old age he related with pleasure, that, by the distress of the siege, himself, and the countess his wife, had been reduced to a single cloak or mantle, which they wore alternately: that in a sally his horse had been slain, and he was dragged away by the Saracens; but that he owed his rescue to his good sword, and had retreated with his saddle on his back, lest the meanest trophy might be left in the hands of the miscreants. In the siege of Trani, three hundred Normans withstood and repulsed the forces of the island. In the field of Ceramio, fifty thousand horse and foot were overthrown by one hundred and thirty-six christian soldiers, without reckoning St George, who fought on horseback in the foremost ranks. The captive banners, with four camels, were reserved for the successor of St Peter; and had these barbaric spoils been exposed not in the Vatican, but in the Capitol, they might have revived the memory of the Punic triumphs. These insufficient

[s] Duo sibi proficua deputans animæ scilicet et corporis si terram Idolis dedutam ad cultum divinum revocaret (Galfrid Malaterra, l. ii, c. 1). The conquest of Sicily is related in the three last books, and he himself has given an accurate summary of the chapter; (p. 514-516).

numbers of the Normans most probably denote their knights, the soldiers of honourable and equestrian rank, each of whom was attended by five or six followers in the field;[h] yet, with the aid of this interpretation, and after every fair allowance on the side of valour, arms, and reputation, the discomfiture of so many myriads will reduce the prudent reader to the alternative of a miracle or a fable. The Arabs of Sicily derived a frequent and powerful succour from their countrymen of Africa: in the siege of Palermo, the Norman cavalry was assisted by the gallies of Pisa; and, in the hour of action, the envy of the two brothers was sublimed to a generous and invincible emulation. After a war of thirty years,[i] Roger, with the title of great count, obtained the sovereignty of the largest and most fruitful island of the Mediterranean; and his administration displays a liberal and enlightened mind above the limits of his age and education. The Moslems were maintained in the free enjoyment of their religion and property;[k] a philosopher and physician of Mazara, of the race of Mahomet, harangued the conqueror, and was invited

CHAP. LVI.

[h] See the word *Militia*, in the Latin Glossary of Ducange.

[i] Of odd particulars, I learn from Malaterra that the Arabs had introduced into Sicily the use of camels (l. i, c. 33) and of carrier-pigeons (c. 42); and that the luxuriant fertility of the soil excites a windy disposition, quæ per unum inhonesto eructuationis crepitum se exercitat, a symptom most ridiculously felt by the whole Norman army in their camp near Palermo (c. 32). I shall add an etymology not unworthy of the eleventh century: *Mazara* is derived from *Thessis*, the place from whence the harvests of the isle were sent in tribute to Rome (l. ii, c. 1).

[k] See the capitulation of Palermo in Malaterra, l. ii, c. 45, and Giannone, who remarks the general toleration of the Saracens (tom. ii, p. 72).

CHAP. LVI.

to court; his geography of the seven climates was translated into Latin; and Roger, after a diligent perusal, preferred the work of the Arabian to the writings of the Grecian Ptolemy.[l] A remnant of christian natives had promoted the success of the Normans: they were rewarded by the triumph of the cross. The island was restored to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff; new bishops were planted in the principal cities; and the clergy was satisfied by a liberal endowment of churches and monasteries. Yet the catholic hero asserted the rights of the civil magistrate. Instead of resigning the investiture of benefices, he dexterously applied to his own profit the papal claims: the supremacy of the crown was secured and enlarged, by the singular bull, which declares the princes of Sicily hereditary and perpetual legates of the holy see.[m]

Robert invades the eastern empire, A. D. 1081.

To Robert Guiscard, the conquest of Sicily was more glorious than beneficial: the possession of Apulia and Calabria was inadequate to his ambition; and he resolved to embrace or create

[l] John Leo Afer, de Medicis et Philosophis Arabibus, c. 14, apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii, p. 278, 279. This philosopher is named Esc riph Essachalli, and he died in Africa, A. H. 516, A. D. 1122. Yet this story bears a strange resemblance to the Sherif al Edrissi, who presented his book (Geog aphia Nubiensis, see preface, p. 88, 90, 170) to Roger king of Sicily, A. H. 548, A. D. 1153 (d'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 786. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 183. Petit de la Croix, Hist. de Gengiscan, p. 535, 536. Casiri, Bibliot. Arab. Hispan. tom. ii, p. 9-13); and I am afraid of some mistake.

[m] Muratori remarks the foundation of the bishoprics (l. iv, c. 7), and produces the original of the bull (l. iv, c. 29). Giannone gives a rational idea of this privilege, and the tribunal of the monarchy of Sicily (tom. ii, p. 95-102); and St Marc (Abregé, tom. iii, p. 217-301, first column) labours the case with the diligence of a Sicilian lawyer.

the first occasion of invading, perhaps of subduing, the Roman empire of the East.[n] From his first wife, the partner of his humble fortunes, he had been divorced under the pretence of consanguinity; and her son Bohemond was destined to imitate, rather than to succeed, his illustrious father. The second wife of Guiscard was the daughter of the princes of Salerno; the Lombards acquiesced in the lineal succession of their son Roger; their five daughters were given in honourable nuptials,[o] and one of them was betrothed, in a tender age, to Constantine, a beautiful youth, the son and heir of the emperor Michael.[p] But the throne of Constantinople was shaken by a revolution: the imperial family of Ducas was confined to the palace or the cloister; and Robert deplored, and resented, the disgrace of his daughter and the expulsion of his ally. A Greek, who styled himself the father of Constantine, soon appeared at Salerno, and related the

[n] In the first expedition of Robert against the Greeks, I follow Anna Comnena (the 1st, 3d, 4th, and 5th books of the Alexiad); William Apulus (l. 4th and 5th, p. 270-275); and Jeffrey Malaterra (l. iii, c. 13, 14, 24-29, 39). Their information is contemporary and authentic, but none of them were eye-witnesses of the war.

[o] One of them was married to Hugh, the son of Azzo, or Axo, a marquis of Lombardy, rich, powerful, and *noble* (Guliolm. Apul. l. iii, p. 267), in the eleventh century, and whose ancestors in the tenth and ninth, are explored by the critical industry of Leibnitz and Muratori. From the two elder sons of the marquis Azzo, are derived the illustrious lines of Brunswick and Este. See Muratori, Antichitæ Estenses.

[p] Anna Comnena, somewhat too wantonly, praises and bewails that handsome boy, who, after the rupture of his barbaric nuptials (l. i, p. 23), was betrothed as her husband; he was αμιλλα φυσεως . . . . . οιον χειρων φιλοτιμημα . . . . . χρυσω γενυς απορρεη, &c. (p. 27). Elsewhere, she describes the red and white of his skin, his hawk's eyes, &c. l. iii, p. 71.

CHAP. LVI.

adventures of his fall and flight. That unfortunate friend was acknowledged by the duke, and adorned with the pomp and titles of imperial dignity: in his triumphal progress through Apulia and Calabria, Michael[q] was saluted with the tears and acclamations of the people; and pope Gregory the Seventh exhorted the bishops to preach, and the catholics to fight, in the pious work of his restoration. His conversations with Robert were frequent and familiar; and their mutual promises were justified by the valour of the Normans and the treasures of the East. Yet this Michael, by the confession of the Greeks and Latins, was a pageant and an impostor; a monk who had fled from his convent, or a domestic who had served in the palace. The fraud had been contrived by the subtle Guiscard; and he trusted, that after this pretender had given a decent colour to his arms, he would sink, at the nod of the conqueror, into his primitive obscurity. But victory was the only argument that could determine the belief of the Greeks; and the ardour of the Latins was much inferior to their credulity: the Norman veterans wished to enjoy the harvest of their toils, and the unwarlike Italians trembled at the known and unknown dangers of a transmarine expedition. In his new

[q] Anna Comnena, l. i, p. 28, 29. Guliclm. Apul. l. iv, p. 271. Gulfrid Malaterra, l. iii, c. 13, p. 579, 580. Malaterra is more cautious in his style: but the Apulian is more bold and positive.

—— Mentitus se Michaelem
Venerat a Danais quidam seductor ad illum.

As Gregory VII. had believed, Baronius, almost alone, recognizes the emperor Michael (A. D. 1080, No. 44).

levies, Robert exerted the influence of gifts and promises, the terrors of civil and ecclesiastical authority; and some acts of violence might justify the reproach, that age and infancy were pressed without distinction into the service of their unrelenting prince. After two years incessant preparations, the land and naval forces were assembled at Otranto, at the heel, or extreme promontory of Italy; and Robert was accompanied by his wife, who fought by his side, his son Bohemond, and the representative of the emperor Michael. Thirteen hundred knights[r] of Norman race or discipline, formed the sinews of the army, which might be swelled to thirty thousand[s] followers of every denomination. The men, the horses, the arms, the engines, the wooden towers, covered with raw hides, were embarked on board one hundred and fifty vessels: the transports had been built in the ports of Italy, and the gallies were supplied by the alliance of the republic of Ragusa.

CHAP. LVI.

At the mouth of the Adriatic gulf, the shores of Italy and Epirus incline towards each other. The space between Brundusium and Durazzo, the Roman passage, is no more than one hundred

Siege of Durazzo, A. D. 1081, June 17.

[r] Ipse armatæ militiæ non [illegible]usquam MCCC milites secum habuisse, ab eis qui eidem negotio interfuerunt attestatur (Malaterra, l. iii, c. 24, p. 583). These are the same whom the Apulian (l. iv, p. 271) styles the equestris gens ducis, equites de gente ducis.

[s] Εις τριακοντα χιλιαδας, says Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. i, p. 37); and her account tallies with the number and lading of the ships. Ivit in Dyrrachium cum XV millibus hominum, says the Chronicon Breve Normannicum (Muratori, Scriptores, tom. v, p. 278). I have endeavoured to reconcile these reckonings.

CHAP. LVI.

miles;[t] at the last station of Otranto, it is contracted to fifty;[u] and this narrow distance had suggested to Pyrrhus and Pompey the sublime or extravagant idea of a bridge. Before the general embarkation, the Norman duke dispatched Bohemond with fifteen gallies to seize or threaten the isle of Corfu, to survey the opposite coast, and to secure an harbour in the neighbourhood of Vallona for the landing of the troops. They passed and landed without perceiving an enemy; and this successful experiment displayed the neglect and decay of the naval power of the Greeks. The islands of Epirus and the maritime towns were subdued by the arms or the name of Robert, who led his fleet and army from Corfu (I use the modern appellation) to the siege of Durazzo. That city, the western key of the empire, was guarded by ancient renown, and recent fortifications, by George Palæologus, a patrician, victorious in the Oriental wars, and a numerous garrison of Albanians and Macedonians, who, in every age, have maintained the character of soldiers. In the prosecution of his enterprise, the courage of Guiscard was assailed by every form of danger and

[t] The Itinerary of Jerusalem (p. 609, edit. Wesseling) gives a true and reasonable space of a thousand stadia, or one hundred miles, which is strangely doubled by Strabo (l. vi, p. 433), and Pliny (Hist. Natur. iii, 16).

[u] Pliny (Hist. Nat. iii, 6, 16) allows *quinquaginta* millia for this *brevissimus cursus*, and agrees with the real distance from Otranto to La Vallona, or Aulon (d'Anville, Analyse de sa Carte des Cotes de la Grèce, &c. p. 3-6.) Hermolaus Barbarus, who substitutes *centum*, (Hardouin, Not. lxvi, in Plin. l. iii), might have been corrected by every Venetian pilot who had sailed out of the gulf.

CHAP. LVI.

mischance. In the most propitious season of the year, as his fleet passed along the coast, a storm of wind and snow unexpectedly arose: the Adriatic was swelled by the raging blast of the south, and a new shipwreck confirmed the old infamy of the Acroceraunian rocks.* The sails, the masts, and the oars, were shattered or torn away; the sea and shore were covered with the fragments of vessels, with arms and dead bodies; and the greatest part of the provisions were either drowned or damaged. The ducal galley was laboriously rescued from the waves, and Robert halted seven days on the adjacent cape, to collect the relics of his loss and revive the drooping spirits of his soldiers. The Normans were no longer the bold and experienced mariners who had explored the ocean from Greenland to mount Atlas, and who smiled at the petty dangers of the Mediterranean. They had wept during the tempest; they were alarmed by the hostile approach of the Venetians, who had been solicited by the prayers and promises of the Byzantine court. The first day's action was not disadvantageous to Bohemond, a beardless youth,† who led the naval powers of his father. All night the gallies of the republic lay on their anchors in

* Infames scopulos Acroceraunia, Horat. carm. i, 3. The præcipitem Africum decertantem Aquilonibus et rabiem Noti, and the monstra natantia of the Adriatic, are somewhat enlarged; but Horace trembling for the life of Virgil, is an interesting moment in the history of poetry and friendship.

† Ὁ γὰρ δὲ τις τὸν παγανα αυτὸ ἐφιβρισαντων (Alexias, l. iv, p. 106). Yet the Normans shaved, and the Venetians wore their beards; they must have derided the *no*-beard of Bohemond; an harsh interpretation! (Ducange, Not ad Alexiad. p. 283).

CHAP. LVI.

the form of a crescent; and the victory of the second day was decided by the dexterity of their evolutions, the station of their archers, the weight of their javelins, and the borrowed aid of the Greek fire. The Apulian and Ragusian vessels fled to the shore; several were cut from their cables and dragged away by the conqueror; and a sally from the town carried slaughter and dismay to the tents of the Norman duke. A seasonable relief was poured into Durazzo, and as soon as the besiegers had lost the command of the sea, the islands and maritime towns withdrew from the camp the supply of tribute and provision. That camp was soon afflicted with a pestilential disease; five hundred knights perished by an inglorious death; and the list of burials (if all could obtain a decent burial) amounted to ten thousand persons. Under these calamities, the mind of Guiscard alone was firm and invincible; and while he collected new forces from Apulia and Sicily, he battered, or scaled, or sapped, the walls of Durazzo. But his industry and valour were encountered by equal valour and more perfect industry. A moveable turret, of a size and capacity to contain five hundred soldiers, had been rolled forwards to the foot of the rampart: but the descent of the door or drawbridge was checked by an enormous beam, and the wooden structure was instantly consumed by artificial flames.

The army and march of the emperor Alexius, April-September.

While the Roman empire was attacked by the Turks in the east and the Normans in the west, the aged successor of Michael surrendered the sceptre to the hands of Alexius, an illustrious

captain, and the founder of the Comnenian dynasty. The princess Anne, his daughter and historian, observes, in her affected style, that even Hercules was unequal to a double combat; and on this principle, she approves an hasty peace with the Turks, which allowed her father to undertake in person the relief of Durazzo. On his accession, Alexius found the camp without soldiers, and the treasury without money: yet such were the vigour and activity of his measures, that in six months he assembled an army of seventy thousand men,[z] and performed a march of five hundred miles. His troops were levied in Europe and Asia, from Peloponnesus to the Black Sea; his majesty was displayed in the silver arms and rich trappings of the companies of horse-guards; and the emperor was attended by a train of nobles and princes, some of whom, in rapid succession, had been clothed with the purple, and were indulged by the lenity of the times in a life of affluence and dignity. Their youthful ardour might animate the multitude; but their love of pleasure and contempt of subordination were pregnant with disorder and mischief; and their importunate clamours for speedy and decisive action disconcerted the prudence of Alexius,

CHAP. LVI.

[z] Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. ix, p. 136, 137), observes, that some authors (Petrus Diacon. Chron. Casinen. l. iii, c. 49) compose the Greek army of 170,000 men, but that the *hundred* may be struck off, and that Malaterra only reckons 70,000: a slight inattention. The passage to which he alludes is in the Chronicle of Lupus Protospata (Script. Ital. tom. v, p. 45). Malaterra (l. iv, c. 27) speaks in high, but indefinite, terms of the emperor, cum copiis innumerabilibus; like the Apulian poet (l. iv, p. 272):

More locustarum montes et plana teguntur.

CHAP. LVI.

who might have surrounded and starved the besieging army. The enumeration of provinces recals a sad comparison of the past and present limits of the Roman world: the raw levies were drawn together in haste and terror; and the garrisons of Anatolia, or Asia Minor, had been purchased by the evacuation of the cities which were immediately occupied by the Turks. The strength of the Greek army consisted in the Varangians, the Scandinavian guards, whose numbers were recently augmented by a colony of exiles and volunteers from the British island of Thule. Under the yoke of the Norman conqueror, the Danes and English were oppressed and united: a band of adventurous youths resolved to desert a land of slavery; the sea was open to their escape; and, in their long pilgrimage, they visited every coast that afforded any hope of liberty and revenge. They were entertained in the service of the Greek emperor; and their first station was in a new city on the Asiatic shore: but Alexius soon recalled them to the defence of his person and palace; and bequeathed to his successors the inheritance of their faith and valour.[a] The name of a Norman invader revived the memory of their wrongs: they marched with alacrity against the national foe, and panted to regain, in Epirus, the glory which they had lost in the battle of Hastings. The

[a] See William of Malmsbury de Gestis Anglorum, l. iii, p. 92 Alexius fidem Anglorum suscipiens præcipuis familiaritatibus suis eos applicabat, ainorem eorum filio transcribens. Ordericus Vitalis (Hist. Eccles. l. iv, p. 508, l. vii, p. 641) relates their emigration from England, and their service in Greece.

Varangians were supported by some companies of Franks or Latins; and the rebels, who had fled to Constantinople from the tyranny of Guiscard, were eager to signalize their zeal and gratify their revenge. In this emergency the emperor had not disdained the impure aid of the Paulicians or Manichæans of Thrace and Bulgaria; and these heretics united with the patience of martyrdom, the spirit and discipline of active valour.[b] The treaty with the sultan had procured a suppy of some thousand Turks; and the arrows of the Scythian horse were opposed to the lances of the Norman cavalry. On the report and distant prospect of these formidable numbers, Robert assembled a council of his principal officers. "You behold," said he, "your danger: it is urgent and inevitable. The hills are "covered with arms and standards; and the emperor of the Greeks is accustomed to wars and "triumphs. Obedience and union are our only "safety; and I am ready to yield the command "to a more worthy leader." The vote and acclamation, even of his secret enemies, assured him, in that perilous moment, of their esteem and confidence; and the duke thus continued: "Let us trust in the rewards of victory, and deprive cowardice of the means of escape. Let "us burn our vessels and our baggage, and give "battle on this spot, as if it were the place of "our nativity and our burial." The resolution was unanimously approved; and without con-

CHAP. LVI.

[b] See the Apulian, l. i, p. 250. The character and story of these Manichæans has been the subject of the 54th Chapter.

CHAP. LVI.

fining himself to his lines, Guiscard awaited in battle array the nearer approach of the enemy. His rear was covered by a small river; his right wing extended to the sea; his left to the hills: nor was he conscious, perhaps, that on the same ground Cæsar and Pompey had formerly disputed the empire of the world.*

Battle of Durazzo, A. D. 1081, October 18.

Against the advice of his wisest captains, Alexius resolved to risk the event of a general action, and exhorted the garrison of Durazzo to assist their own deliverance by a well-timed sally from the town. He marched in two columns to surprise the Normans before day-break on two different sides: his light cavalry was scattered over the plain; the archers formed the second line; and the Varangians claimed the honours of the van-guard. In the first onset, the battle-axes of the strangers made a deep and bloody impression on the army of Guiscard, which was now reduced to fifteen thousand men. The Lombards and Calabrians ignominiously turned their backs; they fled towards the river and the sea; but the bridge had been broken down to check the sally of the garrison, and the coast was lined with the Venetian galleys, who played their engines among the disorderly throng. On the verge of ruin, they were saved by the spirit and conduct of their chiefs. Gaita, the wife of Robert, is painted by the Greeks as a warlike Amazon, a second Pallas; less skilful in arts, but not less terrible in

* See the simple and masterly narrative of Cæsar himself (Comment. de Bell. Civil. iii, 41-75). It is a pity that Quintus Icilius (M. Guischard) did not live to analyse these operations, as he has done the campaigns of Africa and Spain.

arms, than the Athenian goddess:[d] though wounded by an arrow, she stood her ground, and strove, by her exhortation and example, to rally the flying troops.[e] Her female voice was seconded by the more powerful voice and arm of the Norman duke, as calm in action as he was magnanimous in council: "Whither," he cried aloud, "whither do ye fly? your enemy is implacable; and death is less grievous than servitude." The moment was decisive: as the Varangians advanced before the line, they discovered the nakedness of their flanks; the main battle of the duke, of eight hundred knights, stood firm and entire; they couched their lances, and the Greeks deplore the furious and irresistible shock of the French cavalry.[f] Alexius was not deficient in the duties of a soldier or a general; CHAP. LVI.

[d] Παλλας αλλη και μη Αθηνη, which is very properly translated by the president Cousin (Hist. de Constantinople, tom. iv, p. 131, in 12mo), qui combattoit comme une Pallas, quoiquelle ne fût pas aussi savante que celle d'Athènes. The Grecian goddess was composed of two discordant characters; of Neith, the workwoman of Sais in Egypt, and of a virgin Amazon of the Tritonian lake in Lybia (Banier, Mythologie, tom. iv, p. 1-31, in 12mo).

[e] Anna Comnena (l. iv, p. 116) admires, with some degree of terror, her masculine virtues. They were more familiar to the Latins; and though the Apulian (l. iv, p. 273) mentions her presence and her wound, he represents her as far less intrepid.

Uxor in hoc bello Roberti forte sagittâ
Quondam læsa fuit: quo vulnere *territa* nullam
Dum sperabat opem se pœne *subegerat* hosti.

The last is an unlucky word for a female prisoner.

[f] Απο της τυ Ρομπέρτυ προηγησαμενης μαχης, γινωσκων τον φρικωδη κατα των ανοπλων ιππασιαν των Κελτων ανυποιστον (Anna, l. v, p. 132); and elsewhere και γαρ Κελτος ανηρ πας εποχημενος μεν ανυποιστος την ορμην, και την θειαν εσιν (p. 146). The pedantry of the princess in the choice of classic appellations, encouraged Ducange to apply to his countrymen the characters of the ancient Gauls.

CHAP. LVI.

but he no sooner beheld the slaughter of the Varangians, and the flight of the Turks, than he despised his subjects and despaired of his fortune. The princess Anne, who drops a tear on this melancholy event, is reduced to praise the strength and swiftness of her father's horse, and his vigorous struggle, when he was almost overthrown by the stroke of a lance, which had shivered the imperial helmet. His desperate valour broke through a squadron of Franks who opposed his flight; and, after wandering two days and as many nights in the mountains, he found some repose of body, though not of mind, in the walls of Lychnidus. The victorious Robert reproached the tardy and feeble pursuit which had suffered the escape of so illustrious a prize; but he consoled his disappointment by the trophies and standards of the field, the wealth and luxury of the Byzantine camp, and the glory of defeating an army five times more numerous than his own. A multitude of Italians had been the victims of their own fears; but only thirty of his knights were slain in this memorable day. In the Roman host, the loss of Greeks, Turks, and English, amounted to five or six thousand:[s] the plain of Durazzo was stained with noble and royal blood; and the end of the impostor Michael was more honourable than his life.

[s] Lupus Protospata (tom. iii, p. 45) says 6000; William the Apulian more than 5000 (l. iv, p. 278). Their modesty is singular and laudable: they might with so little trouble have slain two or three myriads of schismatics and infidels!

CHAP. LVI.

It is more than probable that Guiscard was not afflicted by the loss of a costly pageant, which had merited only the contempt and derision of the Greeks. After their defeat they still persevered in the defence of Durazzo; and a Venetian commander supplied the place of George Palæologus, who had been imprudently called away from his station. The tents of the besiegers were converted into barracks, to sustain the inclemency of the winter; and in answer to the defiance of the garrison, Robert insinuated, that his patience was at least equal to their obstinacy.[h] Perhaps he already trusted to his secret correspondence with a Venetian noble, who sold the city for a rich and honourable marriage. At the dead of night several rope-ladders were dropped from the walls; the light Calabrians ascended in silence, and the Greeks were awakened by the name and trumpets of the conqueror. Yet they defended the street three days against an enemy already master of the rampart; and near seven months elapsed between the first investment and the final surrender of the place. From Durazzo, the Norman duke advanced into the heart of Epirus or Albania; traversed the first mountains of Thessaly; surprised three hundred English in the city of Castoria; approached Thessalonica; and made Constantinople tremble. A more pressing duty suspended the pro-

Durazzo taken, A. D. 1082, Feb. 8.

[h] The Romans had changed the inauspicious name of *Epi damnus* to Dyrrachium (Plin. iii, 26); and the vulgar corruption of Duracium (see Malaterra) bore some affinity to *hardness*. One of Robert's names was Durand, a *durando*: poor wit! (Alberic, Monach. in Chron. apud Muratori Annali d'Italia, tom. ix, p. 187).

CHAP. LVI.

secution of his ambitious designs. By shipwreck, pestilence, and the sword, his army was reduced to a third of the original numbers; and instead of being recruited from Italy, he was informed, by plaintive epistles, of the mischiefs and dangers which had been produced by his absence: the revolt of the cities and barons of Apulia; the distress of the pope; and the approach or invasion of Henry king of Germany. Highly presuming that his person was sufficient for the public safety, he repassed the sea in a single brigantine, and left the remains of the army under the command of his son and the Norman counts, exhorting Bohemond to respect the freedom of his peers, and the counts to obey the authority of their leader. The son of Guiscard trod in the footsteps of his father; and the two destroyers are compared, by the Greeks, to the caterpillar and the locust, the last of whom devours whatever has escaped the teeth of the former.[i] After winning two battles against the emperor, he descended into the plain of Thessaly, and besieged Larissa, the fabulous realm of Achilles,[k] which contained the treasure and magazines of the Byzantine camp. Yet a just praise must not be re-

Return of Robert, and actions of Bohemond.

[i] πρυχης και ακριδας ειπειν, αν τις αυτας πατερα και υιον (Anna, l. i, p. 35). By these similies, so different from those of Homer, she wishes to inspire contempt, as well as horror, for the little noxious animal, a conqueror. Most unfortunately, the common sense, or common nonsense, of mankind, resists her laudable design.

[k] Prodiit hâc auctor Trojanæ cladis Achilles.

The supposition of the Apulian (l. v, p. 275) may be excused by the more classic poetry of Virgil (Æneid II, 197), Lyrissæus Achilles, but it is not justified by the geography of Homer.

fused to the fortitude and prudence of Alexius, who bravely struggled with the calamities of the times. In the poverty of the state, he presumed to borrow the superfluous ornaments of the churches; the desertion of the Manichæans was supplied by some tribes of Moldavia; a reinforcement of seven thousand Turks replaced and revenged the loss of their brethren; and the Greek soldiers were exercised to ride, to draw the bow, and to the daily practice of ambuscades and evolutions. Alexius had been taught by experience, that the formidable cavalry of the Franks on foot was unfit for action, and almost incapable of motion;[1] his archers were directed to aim their arrows at the horse rather than the man; and a variety of spikes and snares was scattered over the ground on which he might expect an attack. In the neighbourhood of Larissa the events of war were protracted and balanced. The courage of Bohemond was always conspicuous, and often successful; but his camp was pillaged by a stratagem of the Greeks; the city was impregnable; and the venal or discontented counts deserted his standard, betrayed their trusts, and enlisted in the service of the emperor. Alexius returned to Constantinople with the advantage, rather than the honour, of victory. After evacuating the conquests which

[1] The των πεδιλων πραλμαια, which encumbered the knights on foot, have been ignorantly translated spurs (Anna Comnena, Alexias, l. v, p. 140). Ducange has explained the true sense by a ridiculous and inconvenient fashion, which lasted from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. These peaks, in the form of a scorpion, were sometimes two feet, and fastened to the knee with a silver chain.

CHAP. LVI.

he could no longer defend, the son of Guiscard embarked for Italy, and was embraced by a father who esteemed his merit, and sympathised in his misfortune.

The emperor Henry III. invited by the Greeks, A. D 1091.

Of the Latin princes, the allies of Alexius and enemies of Robert, the most prompt and powerful was Henry the third or fourth, king of Germany and Italy, and future emperor of the West. The epistle of the Greek monarch[m] to his brother is filled with the warmest professions of friendship, and the most lively desire of strengthening their alliance by every public and private tie. He congratulates Henry on his success in a just and pious war, and complains that the prosperity of his own empire is disturbed by the audacious enterprises of the Norman Robert. The list of his presents expresses the manners of the age, a radiated crown of gold, a cross set with pearls to hang on the breast, a case of relics, with the names and titles of the saints, a vase of crystal, a vase of sardonyx, some balm, most probably of Mecca, and one hundred pieces of purple. To these he added a more solid present, of one hundred and forty four thousand Byzantines of gold, with a farther assurance of two hundred and sixteen thousand, as soon as Henry should have entered in arms the Apulian territories, and confirmed by an oath the league against the common

[m] The epistle itself (Alexias, l. iii, p. 93, 94, 95), well deserves to be read. There is one expression, αστραπαικον διαδημειον μετα χρυσαφιου, which Ducange does not understand, I have endeavoured to grope out a tolerable meaning: χρυσαφιον, is a golden crown; αστραπαικος, is explained by Simon Portius (in Lexico-Græco, Barbar.), by κεραυνοειδης αστραπη, a flash of lightning.

enemy. The German,[n] who was already in Lombardy at the head of an army and a faction, accepted these liberal offers, and marched towards the south; his speed was checked by the sound of the battle of Durazzo; but the influence of his arms or name, in the hasty return of Robert, was a full equivalent for the Grecian bribe. Henry was the sincere adversary of the Normans, the allies and vassals of Gregory the Seventh, his implacable foe. The long quarrel of the throne and mitre had been recently kindled by the zeal and ambition of that haughty priest:[o] the king and the pope had degraded each other; and each had seated a rival on the temporal or spiritual throne of his antagonist. After the defeat and death of his Swabian rebel, Henry descended into Italy to assume the imperial crown, and to drive from the Vatican the tyrant of the church.[p] But the Roman people adhered to the

CHAP. LVI.

[n] For these general events, I must refer to the general historians Sigonius, Baronius, Muratori, Mosheim, St Marc, &c.

[o] The lives of Gregory VII. are either legends or invectives (St Marc, Abregé, tom. iii, p. 235, &c.); and his miraculous or immoral performances are alike incredible to a modern reader. He will, as usual, find some instruction in Le Clerc (Vie de Hildebrand, Bibliot. ancienne et moderne, tom. viii), and much amusement in Bayle (Dictionnaire Critique, *Grégoire* VII). That pope was undoubtedly a great man, a second Athanasius, in a more fortunate age of the church. May I presume to add, that the portrait of St Athanasius is one of the passages in my history (vol. iii, p. 200, &c.) with which I am the least dissatisfied?

[p] Anna, with the rancour of a Greek schismatic, calls him κακῶν ῥίζαν ἁπάντων; πλάνην (l. i, p. 32), a pope, or priest, worthy to be spat upon; and accuses him of scourging, shaving, perhaps of circumcising, the ambassadors of Henry (p. 31, 33). But the outrage is improbable and doubtful (see the sensible preface of Cousin).

CHAP. LVI.

cause of Gregory; their resolution was fortified by supplies of men and money from Apulia; and the city was thrice ineffectually besieged by the king of Germany. In the fourth year he corrupted, as it is said, with Byzantine gold, the nobles of Rome, whose estates and castles had been ruined by the war. The gates, the bridges, and fifty hostages, were delivered into his hands: the antipope, Clement the Third, was consecrated in the Lateran: the grateful pontiff crowned his protector in the Vatican; and the emperor Henry fixed his residence in the Capitol, as the lawful successor of Augustus and Charlemagne. The ruins of the Septizonium were still defended by the nephew of Gregory: the pope himself was invested in the castle of St Angelo; and his last hope was in the courage and fidelity of his Norman vassal. Their friendship had been interrupted by some reciprocal injuries and complaints; but, on this pressing occasion, Guiscard was urged by the obligation of his oath, by his interest, more potent than oaths, by the love of fame, and his enmity to the two emperors. Unfurling the holy banner, he resolved to fly to the relief of the prince of the apostles: the most numerous of his armies, six thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, was instantly assembled; and his march from Salerno to Rome was animated by the public applause and the promise of the divine favour. Henry, invincible in sixty-six battles, trembled at his approach; recol-

Besieges Rome, A. D 1081. 1084.

A D 1084, March 21, —— 24. —— 31.

lected some indispensable affairs that required his presence in Lombardy; exhorted the Romans to persevere in their allegiance; and hastily retreated three days before the entrance of the Normans. In less than three years, the son of Tancred of Hauteville enjoyed the glory of delivering the pope, and of compelling the two emperors of the East and West to fly before his victorious arms.[q] But the triumph of Robert was clouded by the calamities of Rome. By the aid of the friends of Gregory, the walls had been perforated or scaled; but the imperial faction was still powerful and active; on the third day, the people rose in a furious tumult; and an hasty word of the conqueror, in his defence or revenge, was the signal of fire and pillage.[r] The Saracens of Sicily, the subjects of Roger, and auxiliaries of his brother, embraced this fair occasion of rifling and profaning the holy city of the Christians; many thousands of the citizens, in the sight, and by the allies, of their spiritual father, were exposed to violation, captivity, or death; and a spacious quarter of the city, from

CHAP. LVI.

Flies before Robert; May.

Sic uno tempore victi
Sunt terræ Domini duo: rex Alemannicus iste,
Imperii rector Romani maximus ille.
Alter ad arma ruens armis superatur; et alter
Nominis auditi solâ formidine cessit.

It is singular enough, that the Apulian, a Latin, should distinguish the Greek as the ruler of the Roman empire (l. iv, p. 274).

[r] The narrative of Malaterra (l. iii, c. 37, p. 587, 588) is authentic, circumstantial, and fair. Dux ignem exclamans urbe incensa, &c. The Apulian softens the mischief (nulæ *quibusdam* ædibus exustis), which is again exaggerated in some partial chronicles (Muratori Annali, tom. ix, p. 147).

CHAP. LVI.

the Lateran to the Coliseum, was consumed by the flames, and devoted to perpetual solitude.[s] From a city, where he was now hated, and might be no longer feared, Gregory retired to end his days in the palace of Salerno. The artful pontiff might flatter the vanity of Guiscard, with the hope of a Roman or imperial crown; but this dangerous measure, which would have inflamed the ambition of the Norman, must for ever have alienated the most faithful princes of Germany.

Second expedition of Robert into Greece, A. D. 1084, October.

The deliverer and scourge of Rome might have indulged himself in a season of repose; but in the same year of the flight of the German emperor, the indefatigable Robert resumed the design of his eastern conquests. The zeal or gratitude of Gregory had promised to his valour the kingdoms of Greece and Asia;[t] his troops were assembled in arms, flushed with success, and eager for action. Their numbers, in the language of Homer, are compared by Anna to a swarm of bees;[u] yet the utmost and mo-

[s] After mentioning this devastation, the Jesuit Donatus (de Roma veteri et nova, l. iv, c. 8, p. 430), prettily adds, Duraret hodieque in Cœlio monte interque ipsum et capitolium miserabilis facies prostratæ uli is, nisi in horti rum vinetorumque, amœnitatem Roma resurrexisset ut perpetuâ viriditate contegeret vulnera et ruinas suas.

[t] The royalty of Robert, either promised or bestowed, by the pope (Anna. l. i, p. 32) is sufficiently confirmed by the Apulian (l. iv, p. 270):

Romani regni sibi promisisse coronam:
Papa ferebatur.

Nor can I understand why Gretser, and the other papal advocates, should be displeased with this new instance of apostolic jurisdiction.

[u] See Homer, Iliad B. (I hate this pedantic mode of quotation by the letters of the Greek alphabet) 87, &c. His bees are the image

CHAP. LVI.

derate limits of the powers of Guiscard have been already defined; they were contained on this second occasion in one hundred and twenty vessels; and as the season was far advanced, the harbour of Brundusium[x] was preferred to the open road of Otranto. Alexius, apprehensive of a second attack, had assiduously laboured to restore the naval forces of the empire; and obtained from the republic of Venice an important succour of thirty-six transports, fourteen galleys, and nine galleots or ships of extraordinary strength and magnitude. Their services were liberally paid by the licence or monopoly of trade, a profitable gift of many shops and houses in the port of Constantinople, and a tribute to St Mark, the more acceptable as it was the produce of a tax on their rivals of Amalphi. By the union of the Greeks and Venetians, the Adriatic was covered with an hostile fleet; but their own neglect, or the vigilance of Robert, the change of a wind, or the shelter of a mist, opened a free passage; and the Norman troops were safely disembarked on the coast of Epirus. With twenty strong and well-appointed galleys, their intrepid duke immediately sought the enemy, and though more accustomed to fight on horseback, he trusted his

of a disorderly crowd: their discipline and public works seem to be the ideas of a later age (Virgil. Æneid. l. i).

[x] Guilielm. Apulus, l. v, p. 276. The admirable port of Brundusium was double; the outward harbour was a gulf covered by an island, and narrowing by degrees, till it communicated by a small gullet with the inner harbour, which embraced the city on both sides. Cæsar and nature have laboured for its ruin; and against such agents, what are the feeble efforts of the Neapolitan government? (Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies, vol. i, p. 384-390).

CHAP. LVI.

own life, and the lives of his brother and two sons, to the event of a naval combat. The dominion of the sea was disputed in three engagements, in sight of the island of Corfu: in the two former, the skill and number of the allies were superior; but in the third, the Normans obtained a final and complete victory.[y] The light brigantines of the Greeks were scattered in ignominious flight: the nine castles of the Venetians maintained a more obstinate conflict; seven were sunk, two were taken; two thousand five hundred captives implored in vain the mercy of the victor; and the daughter of Alexius deplores the loss of thirteen thousand of his subjects or allies. The want of experience had been supplied by the genius of Guiscard; and each evening, when he had sounded a retreat, he calmly explored the causes of his repulse, and invented new methods how to remedy his own defects, and to baffle the advantages of the enemy. The winter season suspended his progress: with the return of spring he again aspired to the conquest of Constantinople; but, instead of traversing the hills of Epirus, he turned his arms against Greece and the islands, where the spoils would repay the labour, and where the land and sea forces might pursue their joint operations with vigour and effect. But, in the isle of Ce-

[y] William of Apulia (l. v, p. 276) describes the victory of the Normans, and forgets the two previous defeats, which are diligently recorded by Anna Comnena (l. vi, p. 150, 160, 161). In her turn, she invents or magnifies a fourth action, to give the Venetians revenge and rewards. Their own feelings were far different, since they deposed their doge, propter excidium stoli (Dandulus in Chron. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii, p. 340).

CHAP. LVI.

phalonia, his projects were fatally blasted by an epidemical disease; Robert himself, in the seventieth year of his age, expired in his tent; and a suspicion of poison was imputed, by public rumour, to his wife, or to the Greek emperor.[z] This premature death might allow a boundless scope for the imagination of his future exploits: and the event sufficiently declares, that the Norman greatness was founded on his life.[a] Without the appearance of an enemy, a victorious army dispersed or retreated in disorder and consternation; and Alexius, who had trembled for his empire, rejoiced in his deliverance. The galley which transported the remains of Guiscard was shipwrecked on the Italian shore; but the duke's body was recovered from the sea, and deposited in the sepulchre of Venusia,[b] a place more illus-

His death A. D. 1085, July 17.

[z] The most authentic writers, William of Apulia (l. v, 277), Jeffrey Malaterra (l. iii, c. 41, p. 589), and Romuald of Salerno (Chron. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. vii), are ignorant of this crime, so apparent to our countrymen William of Malmsbury (l. iii, p. 107), and Roger de Hoveden (p. 710, in Script. post Bedam): and the latter can tell, how the just Alexius married, crowned, and burnt alive, his female accomplice. The English historian is indeed so blind, that he ranks Robert Guiscard, or Wiscard, among the knights of Henry I. who ascended the throne fifteen years after the duke of Apulia's death.

[a] The joyful Anna Comnena scatters some flowers over the grave of an enemy (Alexiad. l. v, p. 162-166); and his best praise is the esteem and envy of William the Conqueror, the sovereign of his family. Græcia (says Malaterra) hostibus recedentibus libera læta quievit; Apulia tota sive Calabria turbatur.

[b] Urbs Venusina nitet tantis decorata sepulchris,

is one of the last lines of the Apulian's poem (l. v, p. 278). William of Malmsbury (l. iii, p. 107) inserts an epitaph on Guiscard, which is not worth transcribing.

CHAP. LVI.

trious for the birth of Horace,[c] than for the burial of the Norman heroes. Roger, his second son and successor, immediately sunk to the humble station of a duke of Apulia: the esteem or partiality of his father left the valiant Boliemond to the inheritance of his sword. The national tranquillity was disturbed by his claims, till the first crusade against the infidels of the east opened a more splendid field of glory and conquest.[d]

Reign and ambition of Roger, great count of Sicily, A. D. 1101-1154, Feb. 26.

Of human life, the most glorious or humble prospects are alike and soon bounded by the sepulchre. The male line of Robert Guiscard was extinguished, both in Apulia and at Antioch, in the second generation; but his younger brother became the father of a line of kings; and the son of the great count was endowed with the name, the conquests, and the spirit of the first Roger.[e] The heir of that Norman adventurer was born in Sicily; and, at the age of only four years, he succeeded to the sovereignty of the island, a lot which reason might envy, could she indulge for a moment the visionary, though vir-

[c] Yet Horace had few obligations to Venusia: he was carried to Rome in his childhood (Serm. i, 6); and his repeated allusions to the doubtful limit of Apulia and Lucania (Carm. iii, 4. Serm. ii, 1) are unworthy of his age and genius.

[d] See Giannone (tom. ii, p. 88-93), and the historians of the first crusade.

[e] The reign of Roger, and the Norman kings of Sicily, fills four books of the Istoria Civile of Giannone (tom. ii, l. xi-xiv, p. 180-340), and is spread over the 9th and 10th volumes of the Italian Annals of Muratori. In the Bibliotheque Italique (tom. i, p. 175-222), I find an useful abstract of Capecelatro, a modern Neapolitan, who has composed, in two volumes, the history of his country from Roger I., to Frederic II., inclusive.

CHAP. LVI.

tuous, wish of dominion. Had Roger been content with his fruitful patrimony, an happy and grateful people might have blessed their benefactor; and, if a wise administration could have restored the prosperous times of the Greek colonies,[f] the opulence and power of Sicily alone might have equalled the widest scope that could be acquired and desolated by the sword of war. But the ambition of the great count was ignorant of these noble pursuits; it was gratified by the vulgar means of violence and artifice. He sought to obtain the undivided possession of Palermo, of which one moiety had been ceded to the elder branch; struggled to enlarge his Calabrian limits beyond the measure of former treaties; and impatiently watched the declining health of his cousin William of Apulia, the grandson of Robert. On the first intelligence of his premature death, Roger sailed from Palermo with seven gallies, cast anchor in the bay of Salerno, received, after ten days negociation, an oath of fidelity from the Norman capital, commanded the submission of the barons, and extorted a legal investiture from the reluctant popes, who could not long endure either the friendship or enmity of a powerful vassal. The sacred spot of Benevento was respectfully spared, as the patrimony of St Peter; but the reduction of Capua

Duke of Apulia, A. D. 1127.

[f] According to the testimony of Philistus and Diodorus, the tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse could maintain a standing force of 10,000 horse, 100,000 foot, and 400 gallies. Compare Hume (Essays, vol. i. p. 268, 435) and his adversary Wallace (Numbers of Mankind, p. 306, 307). The ruins of Agrigentum are the theme of every traveller, d'Orville, Reidesel, Swinburne, &c.

CHAP. LVI.

and Naples completed the design of his uncle Guiscard; and the sole inheritance of the Norman conquests was possessed by the victorious Roger. A conscious superiority of power and merit prompted him to disdain the titles of duke and of count; and the isle of Sicily, with a third perhaps of the continent of Italy, might form the basis of a kingdom[g] which would only yield to the monarchies of France and England. The chiefs of the nation who attended his coronation at Palermo might doubtless pronounce under what name he should reign over them; but the example of a Greek tyrant or a Saracen emir were insufficient to justify his regal character; and the nine kings of the Latin world[h] might disclaim their new associate, unless he were consecrated by the authority of the supreme pontiff.

First king of Sicily. A. D. 1130, Dec. 25.

The pride of Anacletus was pleased to confer a title, which the pride of the Norman had stooped to solicit;[i] but his own legitimacy was attacked by the adverse election of Innocent the Second; and while Anacletus sat in the Vatican, the suc-

A. D. 1139, 25.

[g] A contemporary historian of the acts of Roger from the year 1127, to 1135, founds his title on merit and power, the consent of the barons, and the ancient royalty of Sicily and Palermo, without introducing pope Anacletus (Alexand. Cœnobii Telesini Abbatis de Rebus gestis Regis Rogerii, lib. iv, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. v, p. 607-645).

[h] The kings of France, England, Scotland, Castile, Arragon, Navarre, Sweden, Denmark, and Hungary. The three first were more ancient than Charlemagne: the three next were created by their sword, the three last by their baptism; and of these the king of Hungary alone was honoured or debased by a papal crown.

[i] Fazellus, and a crowd of Sicilians, had imagined a more early and independent coronation (A. D. 1130, May 1), which Giannone unwil-

cessful fugitive was acknowledged by the nations of Europe. The infant monarchy of Roger was shaken, and almost overthrown, by the unlucky choice of an ecclesiastical patron; and the sword of Lothaire the Second of Germany, the excommunications of Innocent, the fleets of Pisa, and the zeal of St Bernard, were united for the ruin of the Sicilian robber. After a gallant resistance, the Norman prince was driven from the continent of Italy; a new duke of Apulia was invested by the pope and the emperor, each of whom held one end of the *gonfanon*, or flag-staff, as a token that they asserted their right, and suspended their quarrel. But such jealous friendship was of short and precarious duration: the German armies soon vanished in disease and desertion:[k] the Apulian duke, with all his adherents, was exterminated by a conqueror, who seldom forgave either the dead or the living: like his predecessor Leo the Ninth, the feeble though haughty pontiff became the captive and friend of the Normans; and their reconciliation was celebrated by the eloquence of Bernard, who now revered the title and virtues of the king of Sicily.

CHAP. LVI.

As a penance for this impious war against the successor of St Peter, that monarch might have

His conquest in Africa, A. D. 1192 1194.

lingly rejects (tom. ii, p. 137-144). This fiction is disproved by the silence of contemporaries; nor can it be restored by a spurious charter of Messina (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix, p. 340. Pagi, Critica, tom. iv, p. 467, 468).

[k] Roger corrupted the second person of Lothaire's army, who sounded, or rather cried, a retreat; for the Germans (says Cinnamus, l. iii, c. i, p. 51) are ignorant of the use of trumpets. Most ignorant himself!

CHAP. LVI.

promised to display the banner of the cross, and he accomplished with ardour a vow so propitious to his interest and revenge. The recent injuries of Sicily might provoke a just retaliation on the heads of the Saracens: the Normans, whose blood had been mingled with so many subject streams, were encouraged to remember and emulate the naval trophies of their fathers, and in the maturity of their strength they contended with the decline of an African power. When the Fatimite caliph departed for the conquest of Egypt, he rewarded the real merit and apparent fidelity of his servant Joseph, with a gift of his royal mantle, and forty Arabian horses, his palace, with its sumptuous furniture, and the government of the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers. The Zeirides,[1] the descendants of Joseph, forgot their allegiance and gratitude to a distant benefactor, grasped and abused the fruits of prosperity; and after running the little course of an oriental dynasty, were now fainting in their own weakness. On the side of the land, they were pressed by the Almohades, the fanatic princes of Morocco, while the sea-coast was open to the enterprises of the Greeks and Franks, who, before the close of the eleventh century, had extorted a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. By the first arms of Roger, the island or rock of Malta, which has been since ennobled by a military and religious colony, was inseparably annexed to the crown

[1] See de Guignes, Hist. Generale des Huns, tom. i, p. 369-372, and Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique, &c. sous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii, p. 70-114. Their common original appears to be Novairi.

of Sicily. Tripoli,[m] a strong and maritime city, was the next object of his attack; and the slaughter of the males, the captivity of the females, might be justified by the frequent practice of the Moslems themselves. The capital of the Zeirides was named Africa, from the country, and Mahadia[n] from the Arabian founder: it is strongly built on a neck of land, but the imperfection of the harbour is not compensated by the fertility of the adjacent plain. Mahadia was besieged by George, the Sicilian admiral, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty gallies, amply provided with men and the instruments of mischief: the sovereign had fled, the Moorish governor refused to capitulate, declined the last and irresistible assault, and secretly escaping with the Moslem inhabitants, abandoned the place and its treasures to the rapacious Franks. In successive expeditions, the king of Sicily or his lieutenants reduced the cities of Tunis, Safax, Capsia, Bona, and a long track of the sea coast;[o] the fortresses were garrisoned, the country was tributary, and a boast, that it held Africa in subjection, might

CHAP. LVI.

[m] Tripoli (says the Nubian geographer, or more properly the Sherif al Edrisi) urbis fortis, saxeo muro vallata, sita prope littus maris. Hunc expugnavit Rogerius, qui mulieribus captivis ductis, viros peremit.

[n] See the geography of Leo Africanus (in Ramusio, tom. i, fol. 74, verso, fol. 75, recto) and Shaw's Travels, (p. 110), the 7th book of Thuanus, and the 11th of the Abbé de Vertot. The possession and defence of the place was offered by Charles V, and wisely declined by the knights of Malta.

[o] Pagi has accurately marked the African conquests of Roger; and his criticism was supplied by his friend the Abbé Longuerue, with some Arabic memorials (A. D. 1147, No. 26, 27, A. D. 1148, No. 16, A. D. 1153, No. 16).

CHAP. LVI.

be inscribed with some flattery on the sword of Roger.[p] After his death, that sword was broken; and these transmarine possessions were neglected, evacuated, or lost, under the troubled reign of his successor.[q] The triumphs of Scipio and Belisarius have proved, that the African continent is neither inaccessible nor invincible: yet the great princes and powers of Christendom have repeatedly failed in their armaments against the Moors, who may still glory in the easy conquest and long servitude of Spain.

His invasion of Greece, A. D. 1146.

Since the decease of Robert Guiscard, the Normans had relinquished, above sixty years, their hostile designs against the empire of the East. The policy of Roger solicited a public and private union with the Greek princes, whose alliance would dignify his regal character: he demanded in marriage a daughter of the Comnenian family, and the first steps of the treaty seemed to promise a favourable event. But the contemptuous treatment of his ambassadors exasperated the vanity of the new monarch; and the insolence of the Byzantine court was expiated, according to the laws of nations, by the sufferings of a guiltless people.[r] With a fleet of

[p] Appulus et Calaber, Siculus mihi servit et Afer.

A proud inscription, which denotes that the Norman conquerors were still discriminated from their christian and moslem subjects.

[q] Hugo Falcandus (Hist. Sicula, in Muratori Script. tom. vii, p. 270, 271) ascribes these losses to the neglect or treachery of the admiral Majo.

[r] The silence of the Sicilian historians, who end too soon or begin too late, must be supplied by Otho of Frisingen, a German (de Gestis Frederici, l. i. c. 33, in Muratori Script. tom. vi, p. 668), the Ve-

seventy gallies, George, the admiral of Sicily, appeared before Corfu; and both the island and city were delivered into his hands by the disaffected inhabitants, who had yet to learn that a siege is still more calamitous than a tribute. In this invasion, of some moment in the annals of commerce, the Normans spread themselves by sea, and over the provinces of Greece; and the venerable age of Athens, Thebes, and Corinth, was violated by rapine and cruelty. Of the wrongs of Athens, no memorial remains. The ancient walls, which encompassed, without guarding, the opulence of Thebes, were scaled by the Latin Christians; but their sole use of the gospel was to sanctify an oath, that the lawful owners had not secreted any relic of their inheritance or industry. On the approach of the Normans the lower town of Corinth was evacuated: the Greeks retired to the citadel, which was seated on a lofty eminence, abundantly watered by the classic fountain of Pirene; an impregnable fortress, if the want of courage could be balanced by any advantages of art or nature. As soon as the besiegers had surmounted the labour (their sole labour) of climbing the hill, their general, from the commanding eminence, admired his own victory, and testified his gratitude to heaven, by tearing from the altar the precious image of Theodore the tutelary saint. The silk weavers of both sexes, whom George transported to Sici-

CHAP. LVI.

netian Andrew Dandulus (Id. tom. xii, p. 282, 283), and the Greek writers Cinnamus (l. iii, c. 2-5), and Nicetas (in Manuel, l. ii, c. 1-6).

CHAP. LVI.

ly, composed the most valuable part of the spoil, and in comparing the skilful industry of the mechanic with the sloth and cowardice of the soldier, he was heard to exclaim, that the distaff and loom were the only weapons which the Grecks were capable of using. The progress of this naval armament was marked by two conspicuous events, the rescue of the king of France, and the insult of the Byzantine capital. In his return by sea from an unfortunate crusade, Louis the Seventh was intercepted by the Grecks, who basely violated the laws of honour and religion. The fortunate encounter of the Norman fleet delivered the royal captive; and after a free and honourable entertainment in the court of Sicily, Louis continued his journey to Rome and Paris.*

His admiral delivers Louis VII. of France:

In the absence of the emperor, Constantinople and the Hellespont were left without defence and without the suspicion of danger. The clergy and people, for the soldiers had followed the standard of Manuel, were astonished and dismayed at the hostile appearance of a line of gallies, which boldly cast anchor in the front of the imperial city. The forces of the Sicilian admiral were inadequate to the siege or assault of an immense and populous metropolis: but George enjoyed the glory of humbling the Greek arrogance,

Insults Constantinople.

* To this imperfect capture and speedy rescue, I apply the παρ' ὀλιγον πλὴν πᾶν ἀλωναι, of Cinnamus, l. ii, c. 19, p. 49. Muratori, on tolerable evidence (Annali d'Italia, tom. ix, p. 420, 421), laughs at the delicacy of the French, who maintain, marisque nullo impediente periculo ad regnum proprium reversum esse; yet I observe that their advocate, Ducange, is less positive as the Commentator on Cinnamus, than as the editor of Joinville.

CHAP. LVI.

and of marking the path of conquest to the navies of the West. He landed some soldiers to rifle the fruits of the royal gardens, and pointed with silver, or more probably with fire, the arrows which he discharged against the palace of the Cæsars.[1] This playful outrage of the pirates of Sicily, who had surprised an unguarded moment, Manuel affected to despise, while his martial spirit, and the forces of the empire, were awakened to revenge. The Archipelago and Ionian sea were covered with his squadrons and those of Venice; but I know not by what favourable allowance of transports, victuallers, and pinnaces, our reason, or even our fancy, can be reconciled to the stupenduous account of fifteen hundred vessels, which is proposed by a Byzantine historian. These operations were directed with prudence and energy: in his homeward voyage George lost nineteen of his gallies, which were separated and taken: after an obstinate defence, Corfu implored the clemency of her lawful sovereign; nor could a ship, a soldier of the Norman prince, be found, unless as a captive, within the limits of the Eastern empire. The prosperity and the health of Roger were already in a declining state: while he listened in his palace of Palermo to the messengers of victory or defeat, the invincible Manuel, the foremost in

The Emperor Manuel repulses the Normans. A. D. 1148, 1149.

[1] In palatium regium sagittas ignens injecit, says Dandulus: but Nicetas, l. ii, c. 8, p. 66, transforms them into [illegible], and adds, that Manuel styled this insult [illegible], and [illegible] Angelotera. These arrows, by the compiler, Vincent de Beauvais, are again transmuted into gold.

CHAP. LVI.

every assault, was celebrated by the Grecks and Latins as the Alexander or Hercules of the age.

He reduces Apulia and Calabria, A. D. 1155.

A prince of such a temper could not be satisfied with having repelled the insolence of a barbarian. It was the right and duty, it might be the interest and glory, of Manuel to restore the ancient majesty of the empire, to recover the provinces of Italy and Sicily, and to chastise this pretended king, the grandson of a Norman vassal.[u] The natives of Calabria were still attached to the Greek language and worship, which had been inexorably proscribed by the Latin clergy: after the loss of her dukes, Apulia was chained as a servile appendage to the crown of Sicily: the founder of the monarchy had ruled by the sword; and his death had abated the fear, without healing the discontent, of his subjects: the feudal government was always pregnant with the seeds of rebellion; and a nephew of Roger himself invited the enemies of his family and nation. The majesty of the purple, and a series of Hungarian and Turkish wars, prevented Manuel from embarking his person in the Italian expedition. To the brave and noble Palæologus, his lieutenant, the Greek monarch entrusted a fleet and army: the siege of Bari was his first exploit; and, in every operation, gold as well as steel was the instrument of victory. Salerno, and some places along the western coast, maintained their fideli-

[u] For the invasion of Italy, which is almost overlooked by Nicetas, see the more polite history of Cinnamus (l. iv, c. 1-15, p. 78-101), who introduces a diffuse narrative by a lofty profession, περι της Σικελων τε, και της Ιταλων ισχυτατο γης, ὡς και ταυτας Ρωμαιοις ανασωσαιτο.

CHAP. LVI.

ty to the Norman king; but he lost in two campaigns the greater part of his continental possessions; and the modest emperor, disdaining all flattery and falsehood, was content with the reduction of three hundred cities or villages of Apulia and Calabria, whose names and titles were inscribed on all the walls of the palace. The prejudices of the Latins were gratified by a genuine or fictitious donation, under the seal of the German Cæsars;[x] but the successor of Constantine soon renounced this ignominious pretence, claimed the indefeasible dominion of Italy, and professed his design of chacing the barbarians beyond the Alps. By the artful speeches, liberal gifts, and unbounded promises, of their eastern ally, the free cities were encouraged to persevere in their generous struggle against the despotism of Frederic Barbarossa: the walls of Milan were rebuilt by the contributions of Manuel; and he poured, says the historian, a river of gold into the bosom of Ancona, whose attachment to the Greeks was fortified by the jealous enmity of the Venetians.[y] The situation and trade of Ancona rendered it an important garrison in the heart of Italy: it was twice besieged by the arms of Frederic; the imperial forces were twice repulsed by the spirit of freedom; that spirit was

His design of acquiring Italy and the western empire, A. D. 1155-1174, &c.

[x] The Latin, Otho (de Gestis Frederici I, l. ii, c. 30, p. 731), attests the forgery; the Greek, Cinnamus (l. i, c. 4, p. 78), claims a promise of restitution from Conrad and Frederic. An act of fraud is always credible when it is told of the Greeks.

[y] Quod Anconitani Græcum imperium nimis diligerent ..... Veneti speciali odio Anconam oderunt. The cause of love, perhaps of envy, were the beneficia, flumen aureum of the emperor; and the Latin narrative is confirmed by Cinnamus (l. iv, c. 14, p. 98).

CHAP. LVI.

animated by the ambassador of Constantinople; and the most intrepid patriots, the most faithful servants, were rewarded by the wealth and honours of the Byzantine court.[z] The pride of Manuel disdained and rejected a barbarian colleague; his ambition was excited by the hope of stripping the purple from the German usurpers, and of establishing, in the west, as in the east, his lawful title of sole emperor of the Romans. With this view, he solicited the alliance of the people and the bishop of Rome. Several of the nobles embraced the cause of the Greek monarch; the splendid nuptials of his niece with Odo Frangipani, secured the support of that powerful family,[a] and his royal standard or image was entertained with due reverence in the ancient metropolis.[b] During the quarrel between Frederic and Alexander the Third, the pope twice received in the Vatican the ambassadors of Constantinople. They flattered his piety by the long-promised union of the two churches, tempted the avarice of his venal court, and exhorted the Roman pontiff to seize the just provocation, the favourable moment to humble

[z] Muratori mentions the two sieges of Ancona; the first, in 1167, against Frederic I. in person (Annali, tom. x, p. 39, &c.): the second, in 1173, against his lieutenant Christian, archbishop of Mentz, a man unworthy of his name and office (p. 76, &c.) It is of the second siege, that we possess an original narrative, which he has published in his great collection (tom. vi, p. 921-946).

[a] We derive this anecdote from an anonymous chronicle of Fossa Nova, published by Muratori (Script. Ital. tom. vii, p. 874).

[b] The βασιλειον σημειον of Cinnamus (l. iv, c. 14, p. 99) is susceptible of this double sense. A standard is more Latin, an image more Greek.

the savage insolence of the Alemanni, and to acknowledge the true representative of Constantine and Augustus.[c] CHAP. LVI.

But these Italian conquests, this universal reign, soon escaped from the hand of the Greek emperor. His first demands were eluded by the prudence of Alexander the Third, who paused on this deep and momentous revolution;[d] nor could the pope be seduced by a personal dispute to renounce the perpetual inheritance of the Latin name. After his re-union with Frederic, he spoke a more peremptory language, confirmed the acts of his predecessors, excommunicated the adherents of Manuel, and pronounced the final separation of the churches, or at least the empires, of Constantinople and Rome.[e] The free cities of Lombardy no longer remembered their foreign benefactor, and without preserving the friendship of Ancona, he soon incurred the enmity of Venice.[f] By his own avarice, or the complaints of his subjects, the Greek emperor Failure of his designs.

[c] Nihilhominus quoque petebat, ut quia occasio justa et tempus opportunum et acceptabile se obtulerunt, Romani corona imperii a sancto apostolo sibi redderetur; quoniam non ad Frederici Alamanni, sed ad suum jus asserit pertinere (Vit. Alexandri III. a Cardinal. Arragoniæ, in Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii, par. i, p. 458). His second embassy was accompanied cum immensa multitudine pecuniarum.

[d] Nimis alta et perplexa sunt (Vit. Alexandri III. p. 460, 461), says the cautious pope.

[e] Μαλα μεγαν ειναι λεγων Ρωμ. τα κ τηλ Ψηφ. της πρεσβειας καλειν τοθτο; .ωαι (Cinnamus, l. iv, c. 14, p. 99).

[f] In his sixth book, Cinnamus describes the Venetian war, which Nicetas has not thought worthy of his attention. The Italian accounts, which do not satisfy our curiosity, are reported by the annalist Muratori, under the years 1171, &c.

CHAP. LVI.

was provoked to arrest the persons, and confiscate the effects, of the Venetian merchants. This violation of the public faith exasperated a free and commercial people: one hundred gallies were launched and armed in as many days; they swept the coasts of Dalmatia and Greece; but after some mutual wounds, the war was terminated by an agreement, inglorious to the empire, insufficient for the republic; and a complete vengeance of these and of fresh injuries, was reserved for the succeeding generation. The lieutenant of Manuel had informed his sovereign that he was strong enough to quell any domestic revolt of Apulia and Calabria; but that his forces were inadequate to resist the impending attack of the king of Sicily. His prophecy was soon verified: the death of Palæologus devolved the command on several chiefs, alike eminent in rank, alike defective in military talents; the Greeks were oppressed by land and sea; and a captive remnant that escaped the swords of the Normans and Saracens, abjured all future hostility against the person or dominions of their conqueror.[s] Yet the king of Sicily esteemed the courage and constancy of Manuel, who had landed a second army on the Italian shore: he respectfully addressed the new Justinian; solicited a peace or truce of thirty years, accepted as

[s] This victory is mentioned by Romuald of Salerno (in Muratori, Script. Ital tom. vii, p. 198). It is whimsical enough, that in the praise of the king of Sicily, Cinnamus (l. iv, c. 13, p. 97, 98) is much warmer and copious than Falcandus (p. 268, 270). But the Greek is fond of description, and the Latin historian is not fond of William the Bad.

a gift the regal title; and acknowledged himself the military vassal of the Roman empire.[h] The Byzantine Cæsars acquiesced in this shadow of dominion, without expecting, perhaps without desiring, the service of a Norman army: and the truce of thirty years was not disturbed by any hostilities between Sicily and Constantinople. About the end of that period, the throne of Manuel was usurped by an inhuman tyrant, who had deserved the abhorrence of his country and mankind: the sword of William the Second, the grandson of Roger, was drawn by a fugitive of the Comnenian race; and the subjects of Andronicus might salute the strangers as friends, since they detested their sovereign as the worst of enemies. The Latin historians[i] expatiate on the rapid progress of the four counts who invaded Romania with a fleet and army, and reduced many castles and cities to the obedience of the king of Sicily. The Greeks[k] accuse and magnify

CHAP. LVI.

Peace with the Normans, A. D. 1156.

Last war of the Greeks and Normans, A. D. 1185.

[h] For the epistle of William I. see Cinnamus (l. iv, c. 15, p. 101, 102) and Nicetas (l. ii, c. 8). It is difficult to affirm, whether these Greeks deceived themselves, or the public, in these flattering portraits of the grandeur of the empire.

[i] I can only quote of original evidence, the poor chronicles of Sicard of Cremona (p. 603), and of Fossa Nova (p. 875), as they are published in the seventh tome of Muratori's historians. The king of Sicily sent his troops contra nequitiam Andronici . . . . ad acquirendum imperium C. P. They were capti aut confusi . . . . decepti captique, by Isaac.

[k] In the failure of Cinnamus, we are now reduced to Nicetas (in Andronico, l. i, c. 7, 8, 9, l. ii, c. 1, in Isaac Angelo, l. i, c. 1-4), who now becomes a respectable contemporary. As he survived the emperor and the empire, he is above flattery; but the fall of Constantinople exasperated his prejudices against the Latins. For the ho-

CHAP. LVI.

the wanton and sacrilegious cruelties that were perpetrated in the sack of Thessalonica, the second city of the empire. The former deplore the fate of those invincible but unsuspecting warriors who were destroyed by the arts of a vanquished foe. The latter applaud, in songs of triumph, the repeated victories of their countrymen on the sea of Marmora or Propontis, on the banks of the Strymon, and under the walls of Durazzo. A revolution which punished the crimes of Andronicus, had united against the Franks the zeal and courage of the successful insurgents: ten thousand were slain in battle, and Isaac Angelus, the new emperor, might indulge his vanity or vengeance in the treatment of four thousand captives. Such was the event of the last contest between the Greeks and Normans: before the expiration of twenty years, the rival nations were lost or degraded in foreign servitude; and the successors of Constantine did not long survive to insult the fall of the Sicilian monarchy.

William I, the Bad, king of Sicily, A. D. 1154, Feb. 26. A. D. 1166, May 7.

The sceptre of Roger successively devolved to his son and grandson: they might be confounded under the name of William; they are strongly discriminated by the epithets of the *bad* and the *good*: but these epithets, which appear to describe the perfection of vice and virtue, cannot strictly be applied to either of the Norman princes. When he was roused to arms by danger and shame, the first William did not degenerate

nour of learning, I shall observe that Homer's great commentator, Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, refused to desert his flock.

from the valour of his race; but his temper was slothful; his manners were dissolute; his passions headstrong and mischievous; and the monarch is responsible, not only for his personal vices, but for those of Majo, the great admiral, who abused the confidence, and conspired against the life, of his benefactor. From the Arabian conquest, Sicily had imbibed a deep tincture of oriental manners; the despotism, the pomp, and even the haram, of a sultan; and a christian people was oppressed and insulted by the ascendant of the eunuchs, who openly professed, or secretly cherished, the religion of Mahomet. An eloquent historian of the times[l] has delineated the misfortunes of his country:[m] the ambition and fall of the ungrateful Majo; the revolt and punishment of his assassins; the imprisonment and deliverance of the king himself; the private feuds that arose from the public confusion; and

CHAP. LVI.

[l] The Historia Sicula of Hugo Falcandus, which properly extends from 1154 to 1169, is inserted in the seventh volume of Muratori's Collection (tom. vii, p. 259-344), and preceded by an eloquent preface or epistle (p. 251-258), de Calamitatibus Siciliæ. Falcandus has been styled the Tacitus of Sicily; and, after a just, but immense, abatement, from the first to the twelfth century, from a senator to a monk, I would not strip him of his title; his narrative is rapid and perspicuous, his style bold and elegant, his observation keen: he had studied mankind, and feels like a man. I can only regret the narrow and barren field on which his labours have been cast.

[m] The laborious Benedictines (l'Art de verifier les Dates, p. 896) are of opinion, that the true name of Falcandus, is Fulcandus, or Foucault. According to them, Hugues Foucault, a Frenchman by birth, and at length abbot of St Denys, had followed into Sicily his patron Stephen de la Perche, uncle to the mother of William II. archbishop of Palermo, and great chancellor of the kingdom. Yet Falcandus has all the feelings of a Sicilian; and the title of *Alumnus* (which he bestows on himself) appears to indicate that he was born, or at least educated, in the island.

CHAP. LVI.

the various forms of calamity and discord which afflicted Palermo, the island, and the continent, during the reign of William the First, and the minority of his son. The youth, innocence, and beauty of William the Second,[n] endeared him to the nation: the factions were reconciled; the laws were revived; and from the manhood to the premature death of that amiable prince, Sicily enjoyed a short season of peace, justice, and happiness, whose value was enhanced by the remembrance of the past and the dread of futurity. The legitimate male posterity of Tancred of Hauteville was extinct in the person of the second William; but his aunt, the daughter of Roger, had married the most powerful prince of the age; and Henry the Sixth, the son of Frederic Barbarossa, descended from the Alps to claim the imperial crown and the inheritance of his wife. Against the unanimous wish of a free people, this inheritance could only be acquired by arms; and I am pleased to transcribe the style and sense of the historian Falcandus, who writes at the moment and on the spot, with the feelings of a patriot, and the prophetic eye of a statesman.

William II. the Good, A. D. 1166, May 7- A. D. 1189, Nov. 16.

Lamentation of the historian Falcandus.

"Constantia, the daughter of Sicily, nursed "from her cradle in the pleasures and plenty, "and educated in the arts and manners, of this

[n] Falcand. p. 303. Richard de St Germano begins his history from the death and praises of William II. After some unmeaning epithets, he thus continues: legis et justitiæ cultus tempore suo vigebat in regno; suâ erat quilibet forte contentus; (were they mortals?) ubique pax, ubique securitas, nec latronum metuebat viator insidias, nec maris natus offendicula piratarum (Script. Rerum Ital. tom. vii, p. 969).

"fortunate isle, departed long since to enrich "the barbarians with our treasures, and now "returns with her savage allies, to contaminate "the beauties of her venerable parent. Already "I behold the swarms of angry barbarians: our "opulent cities, the places flourishing in a long "peace, are shaken with fear, desolated by "slaughter, consumed by rapine, and polluted "by intemperance and lust. I see the massacre "or captivity of our citizens, the rapes of our "virgins and matrons.[o] In this extremity (he "interrogates a friend) how must the Sicilians "act? By the unanimous election of a king, "of valour and experience, Sicily and Calabria "might yet be preserved;[p] for in the levity of "the Apulians, ever eager for new revolutions, "I can repose neither confidence nor hope.[q] "Should Calabria be lost, the lofty towers, the "numerous youth, and the naval strength, of

[o] Constantin, primis a cunabulis in deliciarum tuarum affluentiâ diutius educata, tuisque institutis, doctrinis et moribus informata, tandem opibus tuis barbaros delatura discessit: et nunc cum ingentibus copiis revertitur, ut pulcherrima nutricis ornamenta barbaricâ fœditate contaminet . . . Intueri mihi jam videor turbulentas barbarorum acies . . . civitates opulentas et loca diuturnâ pace florentia, metû concutere, cædi vastare, rapinis atterere, et fœdare luxuriâ; hinc cives aut gladiis intercepti, aut servitute depressi, virgines constupratæ, matronæ, &c.

[p] Certe si regem non dubiæ virtutis elegerint, nec a Saracenis christiani dissentiant, poterit rex creatus rebus licet quasi desperatis et perditis subvenire, et incursus hostium, si prudenter egerit, propulsare.

[q] In Apulis, qui, semper novitate gaudentes, novarum rerum studiis agantur, nihil arbitror spei aut fiduciæ reponendum.

CHAP. LVI.

"Messina,[r] might guard the passage against a "foreign invader. If the savage Germans co- "alesce with the pirates of Messina; if they de- "stroy with fire the fruitful region, so often "wasted by the fires of Mount Ætna,[s] what "resource will be left for the interior parts of the "island, these noble cities which should never "be violated by the hostile footsteps of a barba- "rian?[t] Catana has again been overwhelmed "by an earthquake: the ancient virtue of Syra- "cuse expires in poverty and solitude;[u] but "Palermo is still crowned with a diadem, and "her triple walls inclose the active multitudes "of Christians and Saracens. If the two nations, "under one king, can unite for their common "safety, they may rush on the barbarians with "invincible arms. But if the Saracens, fatigued "by a repetition of injuries, should now retire "and rebel; if they should occupy the castles of "the mountains and sea coast, the unfortunate "Christians, exposed to a double attack, and "placed as it were between the hammer and the "anvil, must resign themselves to hopeless and

[r] Si civium tuorum virtutem et audaciam attendas, . . . murorum etiam ambitum densis turribus circumseptum.

[s] Cum crudelitate piraticâ Theutonum confligat atrocitas, et inter ambustos lapides, et Ætnæ flagrantis incendia, &c.

[t] Eam partem, quam nobilissimarum civitatum fulgor illustrat, quæ et toti regno singulari meruit privilegio præminere, nefarium esset . . . . vel barbarorum ingressû pollui. I wish to transcribe this but curious, description of the palace, city, and luxuriant plain of Palermo.

[u] Vires non suppetunt, et conatus tuos tam inopia civium, quam paucitas bellatorum elidunt.

"inevitable servitude."[x] We must not forget, that a priest here prefers his country to his religion; and that the Moslems, whose alliance he seeks, were still numerous and powerful in the state of Sicily. CHAP. LVI.

Conquest of the kingdom of Sicily, by the emperor Henry VII, A. D. 1194.

The hopes, or at least the wishes, of Falcandus were at first gratified by the free and unanimous election of Tancred, the grandson of the first king, whose birth was illegitimate, but whose civil and military virtues shone without a blemish. During four years, the term of his life and reign, he stood in arms on the farthest verge of the Apulian frontier, against the powers of Germany; and the restitution of a royal captive, of Constantia herself, without injury or ransom, may appear to surpass the most liberal measure of policy or reason. After his decease, the kingdom of his widow and infant son fell without a struggle; and Henry pursued his victorious march from Capua to Palermo. The political balance of Italy was destroyed by his success; and if the pope and the free cities had consulted their obvious and real interest, they would have combined the powers of earth and heaven to

[x] At vero, quia difficile et christianos in tanto rerum turbine, sublato regis timore Saracenos non opprimere, si Saraceni injuriis fatigati ab eis, coeperint dissidere, est cautella facta maritima vel montana munitiones occupaverint; ut hinc cum Theutonicis summâ virtute pugnandum illinc Saracenis crebris insultibus occurrendum, quid putant futuri sunt Siculi inter has depressi angustias, et velut inter malleum et incudem multo cum discrimine constituti? hoc utique agent quod poterunt, ut se barbaris miserabili conditione dedentes, in eorum se conferant potestatem. O utinam plebis et procerum, christianorum et Saracenorum vota conveniant; ut regem sibi concorditer eligentes, barbaros totis viribus, toto commimo, totisque desideriis proturbare contendant. The Normans and Sicilians appear to be confounded.

CHAP. LVI.

prevent the dangerous union of the German empire with the kingdom of Sicily. But the subtle policy, for which the Vatican has so often been praised or arraigned, was on this occasion blind and inactive; and if it were true that Celestine the Third had kicked away the imperial crown from the head of the prostrate Henry,[7] such an act of impotent pride could serve only to cancel an obligation and provoke an enemy. The Genoese, who enjoyed a beneficial trade and establishment in Sicily, listened to the promise of his boundless gratitude and speedy departure;[8] their fleet commanded the straits of Messina, and opened the harbour of Palermo: and the first act of his government was to abolish the privileges, and to seize the property of these imprudent allies. The last hope of Falcandus was defeated by the discord of the Christians and Mahometans: they fought in the capital; several thousand of the latter were slain; but their surviving brethren fortified the mountains, and disturbed above thirty years the peace of the island. By the policy of Frederic the Second, sixty thousand Saracens were transplanted to Nocera in Apulia. In their wars against the Roman church, the emperor and his son Mainfroy were strengthened and disgraced by the ser-

[7] The testimony of an Englishman, of Roger de Hoveden (p. 680), will lightly weigh against the silence of German and Italian history (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. x, p. 156). The priests and pilgrims, who returned from Rome, exalted, by every tale, the omnipotence of the holy father.

[8] Ego enim in eo cum Teutonicis manere non debeo (Ceffari, Annal. Genuenses, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. vi, p. 367, 368).

vice of the enemies of Christ; and this national colony maintained their religion and manners in the heart of Italy, till they were extirpated, at the end of the thirteenth century, by the zeal and revenge of the house of Anjou.[a] All the calamities which the prophetic orator had deplored were surpassed by the cruelty and avarice of the German conqueror. He violated the royal sepulchres, and explored the secret treasures of the palace, Palermo, and the whole kingdom: the pearls and jewels, however precious, might be easily removed; but one hundred and sixty horses were laden with the gold and silver of Sicily.[b] The young king, his mother and sisters, and the nobles of both sexes, were separately confined in the fortresses of the Alps; and, on the slightest rumour of rebellion, the captives were deprived of life, of their eyes, or of the hope of posterity. Constantia herself was touched with sympathy for the miseries of her country; and the heiress of the Norman line might

CHAP. LVI.

[a] For the Saracens of Sicily and Nocera, see the annals of Muratori (tom. x, p. 149, and A. D. 1223, 1247), Giannone (tom. ii, p. 385), and of the originals, in Muratori's Collection, Richard de St Germano (tom. vii, p. 996), Matteo Spinelli de Giovenazzo (tom. vii, p. 1004), Nicholas de Jamsilla (tom. x, p. 494), and Matteo Villani (tom. xiv, l. vii, p. 103). The last of these insinuates, that in reducing the Saracens of Nocera, Charles II. of Anjou, employed rather artifice than violence.

[b] Muratori quotes a passage from Arnold of Lubec (l. iv, c. 20): Reperit thesauros absconditos, et omnem lapidum pretiosorum et gemmarum gloriam, ita ut oneratis 160 sommariis, gloriose ad terram suam redierit. Roger de Hoveden, who mentions the violation of the royal tomb and corpses, computes the spoil of Salerno at 200,000 ounces of gold (p. 746). On these occasions, I am almost tempted to exclaim with the listening maid in La Fontaine, "Je voudrois bien avoir ce qui manque."

CHAP. LVI.

struggle to check her despotic husband, and to save the patrimony of her new-born son, of an emperor so famous in the next age under the name of Frederic the Second. Ten years after this revolution, the French monarchs annexed to their crown the duchy of Normandy: the sceptre of her ancient dukes had been transmitted, by a grand-daughter of William the Conqueror, to the house of Plantagenet; and the adventurous Normans, who had raised so many trophies in France, England, and Ireland, in Apulia, Sicily, and the East, were lost, either in victory or servitude, among the vanquished nations.

Final extinction of the Normans, A. D. 1204.

CHAP. LVII.

The Turks of the house of Sejuk.—Their revolt against Mahmud, conqueror of Hindostan.—Togrul subdues Persia, and protects the caliphs.—Defeat and captivity of the Emperor Romanus Diogenes by Alp Arslan.—Power and magnificence of Malek Shah.—Conquest of Asia Minor and Syria.—State and oppression of Jerusalem.—Pilgrimages to the holy sepulchre.

CHAP. LVII.

THE TURKS.

From the isle of Sicily, the reader must transport himself beyond the Caspian Sea, to the original seat of the Turks or Turkmans, against whom the first crusade was principally directed. Their Scythian empire of the sixth century was long since dissolved; but the name was still famous among the Greeks and orientals; and the fragments of the nation, each a powerful and independent people, were scattered over the desert from China to the Oxus and the Danube: the colony of Hungarians was admitted into the republic of Europe, and the thrones of Asia were occupied by slaves and soldiers of Turkish extraction. While Apulia and Sicily were subdued by the Norman lance, a swarm of these northern shepherds overspread the kingdoms of Persia: their princes of the race of Seljuk erected a splendid and solid empire from Samarcand to the confines of Greece and Egypt; and the Turks have maintained their dominion in Asia Minor,

CHAP. LVII.

till the victorious crescent has been planted on the dome of St Sophia.

Mahmud, the Gaznevide, A. D. 997-1028.

One of the greatest of the Turkish princes was Mahmood or Mahmud,[a] the Gaznevide, who reigned in the eastern provinces of Persia, one thousand years after the birth of Christ. His father Sebectagi was the slave of the slave of the slave of the commander of the faithful. But in this descent of servitude, the first degree was merely titular, since it was filled by the sovereign of Transoxiana and Chorassan, who still paid a nominal allegiance to the caliph of Bagdad. The second rank was that of a minister of state, a lieutenant of the Samanides,[b] who broke, by his revolt, the bonds of political slavery. But the third step was a state of real and domestic servitude in the family of that rebel; from which Sebectagi, by his courage and dexterity, ascended to the supreme command of the city and province of Gazna,[c] as the son-in-law and successor

[a] I am indebted for his character and history to d'Herbelot (Bibliotheque Orientale, *Mahmud*, p. 533-537), M. de Guignes (Histoire des Huns, tom. iii, p. 155-173), and our countryman Colonel Alexander Dow (vol. i, p. 23-84). In the two first volumes of his history of Hindostan, he styles himself the translator of the Persian Ferishta; but in his florid text, it is not easy to distinguish the version and the original.

[b] The dynasty of the Samanides continued 125 years, A. D. 874-999, under ten princes. See their succession and ruin, in the tables of M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i, 404-406). They were followed by the Gaznevides, A. D. 999-1183 (see tom. i, p. 389, 240), His division of nations often disturbs the series of time and place.

[c] Gaznah hortos non habet; est emporium et domicilium mercaturæ Indicæ. Abulfeda Geograph. Reiske, tab. xxiii, p. 349, d'Herbelot, p. 304. It has not been visited by any modern traveller.

CHAP. LVII.

of his grateful master. The falling dynasty of the Samanides was at first protected, and at last overthrown, by their servants; and, in the public disorders, the fortune of Mahmud continually increased. For him, the title of *sultan*[a] was first invented; and his kingdom was enlarged from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, from the shores of the Caspian to the mouth of the Indus. But the principal source of his fame and riches was the holy war which he waged against the Gentoos of Hindostan. In this foreign narrative I may not consume a page; and a volume would scarcely suffice to recapitulate the battles and sieges of his twelve expeditions. Never was the mussulman hero dismayed by the inclemency of the seasons, the height of the mountains, the breadth of the rivers, the barrenness of the desert, the multitudes of the enemy, or the formidable array of their elephants of war.[b]

His twelve expeditions into Hindostan.

[a] By the ambassador of the caliph of Bagdad, who employed an Arabian or Chaldaic word that signifies *lord* and *master* (d'Herbelot, p. 825). It is interpreted Αυτοκρατωρ, Βασιλευς Βασιλεων, by the Byzantine writers of the eleventh century; and the name (Σουλτανος, Soldanus) is familiarly employed in the Greek and Latin languages after it had passed from the Gaznevides to the Seljukides, and other emirs of Asia and Egypt. Ducange (Dissertation xvi, sur Joinville, p. 238 240. Gloss. Græc. et Latin.) labours to find the title of sultan in the ancient kingdom of Persia; but his proofs are more shadowy; a proper name in the Themes of Constantine (ii, 11), an anticipation of Zonaras, &c. and a medal of Kai Khosrou, not (as he believes) the Sassanide of the sixth, but the Seljukide of Iconium of the twelfth century (de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i, p. 246).

[b] Ferishta (apud Dow, Hist. of Hindostan, vol. i, p. 49) mentions the report of a *gun* in the Indian army. But as I am slow in believing this premature (A. D. 1000) use of artillery, I must desire to scrutinize first the text, and then the authority of Ferishta, who lived in the Mogul court in the last century.

CHAP. LVII.

The sultan of Gazna surpassed the limits of the conquests of Alexander: after a march of three months, over the hills of Cashmir and Thibet, he reached the famous city of Kinnoge,[f] on the Upper Ganges: and, in a naval combat on one of the branches of the Indus, he fought and vanquished four thousand boats of the natives. Dehli, Lahor, and Multan, were compelled to open their gates: the fertile kingdom of Guzarat attracted his ambition and tempted his stay; and his avarice indulged the fruitless project of discovering the golden and aromatic isles of the Southern ocean. On the payment of a tribute, the *rajahs* preserved their dominions; the people, their lives and fortunes; but to the religion of Hindostan, the zealous mussulman was cruel and inexorable: many hundred temples, or pagodas, were levelled with the ground; many thousand idols were demolished; and the servants of the prophet were stimulated and rewarded by the precious materials of which they were composed. The pagoda of Sumnat was situate on the promontory of Guzarat, in the neighbourhood of Diu, one of the last remaining possessions of the Portuguese.[g] It was endowed with the revenue of two thousand vil-

[f] Kinnouge, or Canouge (the old Palimbothra), is marked in latitude 27° N', longitude 80° 13'. See d'Anville (Antiquité de l'Inde, p. 60 62), corrected by the local knowledge of Major Rennel (in his excellent memoir on his map of Hindoostan, p. 37-43); 300 jewellers, 30,000 shops for the areca nut, 60,000 bands of musicians, &c. (Abulfed. Geograph. tab. xv, p. 274. Dow, vol. i, p. 16), will allow an ample deduction.

[g] The idolaters of Europe, says Ferishta (Dow, vol. i, p. 66). Consult Abulfeda (p. 272), and Rennel's map of Hindostan.

lages; two thousand Brahmins were consecrated to the service of the deity, whom they washed each morning and evening in water from the distant Ganges: the subordinate ministers consisted of three hundred musicians, three hundred barbers, and five hundred dancing girls, conspicuous for their birth or beauty. Three sides of the temple were protected by the ocean, the narrow isthmus was fortified by a natural or artificial precipice; and the city and adjacent country were peopled by a nation of fanatics. They confessed the sins and the punishment of Kinnoge and Dehli; but if the impious stranger should presume to approach *their* holy precincts, he would surely be overwhelmed by a blast of the divine vengeance. By this challenge, the faith of Mahmud was animated to a personal trial of the strength of this Indian deity. Fifty thousand of his worshippers were pierced by the spear of the Moslems; the walls were scaled; the sanctuary was profaned; and the conqueror aimed a blow of his iron mace at the head of the idol. The trembling Brahmins are said to have offered ten millions sterling for his ransom; and it was urged by the wisest counsellors, that the destruction of a stone image would not change the hearts of the Gentoos; and that such a sum might be dedicated to the relief of the true believers. "Your reasons," replied the sultan, "are "specious and strong; but never in the eyes of "posterity shall Mahmud appear as a merchant "of idols." He repeated his blows, and a treasure of pearls and rubies, concealed in the belly

CHAP. LVII.

of the statue, explained in some degree the devout prodigality of the Brahmins. The fragments of the idol were distributed to Gazna, Mecca, and Medina. Bagdad listened to the edifying tale; and Mahmud was saluted by the caliph with the title of guardian of the fortune and faith of Mahomet.

His character.

From the paths of blood, and such is the history of nations, I cannot refuse to turn aside to gather some flowers of science or virtue. The name of Mahmud the Gaznevide is still venerable in the East: his subjects enjoyed the blessings of prosperity and peace; his vices were concealed by the veil of religion; and two familiar examples will testify his justice and magnanimity. 1. As he sat in the divan, an unhappy subject bowed before the throne to accuse the insolence of a Turkish soldier who had driven him from his house and bed. "Suspend your clamours," said Mahmud, "inform me of his next visit, and "ourself in person will judge and punish the of-"fender." The sultan followed his guide, invested the house with his guards. and, extinguishing the torches, pronounced the death of the criminal, who had been seized in the act of rapine and adultery. After the execution of his sentence, the lights were rekindled, Mahmud fell prostrate in prayer, and, rising from the ground, demanded some homely fare, which he devoured with the voraciousness of hunger. The poor man, whose injury he had avenged, was unable to suppress his astonishment and curiosity; and the courteous monarch condescended to explain the motives of this singular behaviour. "I had

" reason to suspect that none except one of my " sons could dare to perpetrate such an outrage; " and I extinguished the lights, that my justice " might be blind and inexorable. My prayer was " a thanksgiving on the discovery of the offend- " er; and so painful was my anxiety, that I had " passed three days without food since the first " moment of your complaint." II. The sultan of Gazna had declared war against the dynasty of the Bowides, the sovereigns of the western Persia: he was disarmed by an epistle of the sultana mother, and delayed his invasion till the manhood of her son.[h] " During the life of my " husband," said the artful regent, " I was ever " apprehensive of your ambition: he was a prince " and a soldier worthy of your arms. He is now " no more; his sceptre has passed to a woman " and a child, and you *dare not* attack their in- " fancy and weakness. How inglorious would " be your conquest, how shameful your defeat! " and yet the event of war is in the hand of the " Almighty." Avarice was the only defect that tarnished the illustrious character of Mahmud; and never has that passion been more richly satiated. The Orientals exceed the measure of credibility in the account of millions of gold and silver, such as the avidity of man has never accumulated; in the magnitude of pearls, diamonds, and rubies, such as have never been pro-

[h] D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 527. Yet these letters, apothegms, &c. are rarely the language of the heart, or the motives of public action.

CHAP. LVII.

duced by the workmanship of nature.[i] Yet the soil of Hindostan is impregnated with precious minerals; her trade, in every age, has attracted the gold and silver of the world; and her virgin spoils were rifled by the first of the Mahometan conquerors. His behaviour, in the last days of his life, evinces the vanity of these possessions, so laboriously won, so dangerously held, and so inevitably lost. He surveyed the vast and various chambers of the treasury of Gazna; burst into tears; and again closed the doors, without bestowing any portion of the wealth which he could no longer hope to preserve. The following day he reviewed the state of his military force; one hundred thousand foot, fifty-five thousand horse, and thirteen hundred elephants of battle.[k] He again wept the instability of human greatness; and his grief was embittered by the hostile progress of the Turkmans, whom he had introduced into the heart of his Persian kingdom.

Manners and emigration of the Turks.

In the modern depopulation of Asia, the regular operation of government and agriculture is confined to the neighbourhood of cities; and

[i] For instance, a ruby of four hundred and fifty miskals (Dow, vol. i, p. 53), or six pounds three ounces: the largest in the treasury of Dehli weighed seventeen miskals (Voyages de Tavernier, partie ii, p. 280). It is true, that in the east all-coloured stones are called rubies (p. 355), and that Tavernier saw three larger and more precious among the jewels de notre grand roi, le plus puissant et plus magnifique de tous les rois de la terre (p. 376).

[k] Dow, vol. i, p. 65. The sovereign of Kinoge is said to have possessed 2500 elephants (Abulfed. Geograph. tab. xv, p. 274). From these Indian stories, the reader may correct a note in my first volume (p. 71, 348); or from that note he may correct these stories.

CHAP. LVII.

or Turkmans, A. D. 980-1028.

the distant country is abandoned to the pastoral tribes of Arabs, Curds, and *Turkmans*.[1] Of the last-mentioned people, two considerable branches extend on either side of the Caspian Sea: the western colony can muster forty thousand soldiers; the eastern, less obvious to the traveller, but more strong and populous, has increased to the number of one hundred thousand families. In the midst of civilized nations, they preserve the manners of the Scythian desert, remove their encampments with the change of seasons, and feed their cattle among the ruins of palaces and temples. Their flocks and herds are their only riches; their tents, either black or white, according to the colour of the banner, are covered with felt, and of a circular form; their winter apparel is a sheep-skin; a robe of cloth or cotton their summer garment: the features of the men are harsh and ferocious; the countenance of their women is soft and pleasing. Their wandering life maintains the spirit and exercise of arms; they fight on horseback; and their courage is displayed in frequent contests with each other and with their neighbours. For the licence of pasture they pay a slight tribute to the sovereign of the land; but the domestic jurisdiction is in the hands of the chiefs and elders. The first emigration of the eastern Turkmans, the most ancient of their race, may be ascribed to

[1] See a just and natural picture of these pastoral manners, in the history of William archbishop of Tyre (l. i, c. vii, in the Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 633, 634), and a valuable note by the editor of the Histoire Genealogique des Tartars, p. 535-538.

CHAP. LVII.

the tenth century of the christian æra.[m] In the decline of the caliphs, and the weakness of their lieutenants, the barrier of the Jaxartes was often violated: in each invasion, after the victory or retreat of their countrymen, some wandering tribe, embracing the Mahometan faith, obtained a free encampment in the spacious plains and pleasant climate of Transoxiana and Carizme. The Turkish slaves who aspired to the throne encouraged these emigrations, which recruited their armies, awed their subjects and rivals, and protected the frontier against the wilder natives of Turkestan; and this policy was abused by Mahmud the Gaznevide beyond the example of former times. He was admonished of his error by a chief of the race of Seljuk, who dwelt in the territory of Bochara. The sultan had enquired what supply of men he could furnish for military service. "If you send," replied Ismael, "one "of these arrows into our camp, fifty thousand "of your servants will mount on horseback." "And if that number," continued Mahmud, "should not be sufficient?" "Send this second "arrow to the horde of Balik, and you will find "fifty thousand more." "But," said the Gaznevide, dissembling his anxiety, "if I should "stand in need of the whole force of your kin-"dred tribes?" "Dispatch my bow," was the

[m] The first emigrations of the Turkmans, and doubtful origin of the Seljukians, may be traced in the laborious history of the Huns, by M. de Guignes (tom. i, Tables Chronologiques, l. v, tom. iii, l. vii, ix, x), and the Bibliotheque Orientale of d'Herbelot (p. 799-802, 897-901), Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 331-333), and Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 221-229).

last reply of Ismael, "and as it is circulated "around, the summons will be obeyed by two "hundred thousand horse." The apprehension of such formidable friendship induced Mahmud to transport the most obnoxious tribes into the heart of Chorasan, where they would be separated from their brethren by the river Oxus, and inclosed on all sides by the walls of obedient cities. But the face of the country was an object of temptation rather than terror; and the vigour of government was relaxed by the absence and death of the sultan of Gazna. The shepherds were converted into robbers; the bands of robbers were collected into an army of conquerors: as far as Ispahan and the Tigris, Persia was afflicted by their predatory inroads; and the Turkmans were not ashamed or afraid to measure their courage and numbers with the proudest sovereigns of Asia. Massoud, the son and successor of Mahmud, had too long neglected the advice of his wisest omrahs. "Your enemies," they repeatedly urged, "were in their origin a swarm "of ants; they are now little snakes; and, un- "less they be instantly crushed, they will ac- "quire the venom and magnitude of serpents." After some alternatives of truce and hostility, after the repulse or partial success of his lieutenants, the sultan marched in person against the Turkmans, who attacked him on all sides with barbarous shouts and irregular onset. "Mas- "soud," says the Persian historian,[n] "plunged

[n] Dow, Hist. of Hindostan, vol. i, p. 89, 90. I have copied this passage as a specimen of the Persian manner, but I suspect, that by some odd fatality, the style of Ferishta has been improved by that of Ossian.

CHAP. LVII.

"singly to oppose the torrent of gleaming arms, "exhibiting such acts of gigantic force and va- "lour as never king had before displayed. A "few of his friends, roused by his words and ac- "tions, and that innate honour which inspires "the brave, seconded their lord so well, that "wheresoever he turned his fatal sword, the "enemies were mowed down, or retreated before "him. But now, when victory seemed to blow "on his standard, misfortune was active behind "it; for when he looked round, he beheld al- "most his whole army, excepting that body he "commanded in person, devouring the paths of "flight." The Gaznevide was abandoned by the cowardice or treachery of some generals of Turk- ish race; and this memorable day of Zendecan[o] founded in Persia the dynasty of the shepherd kings.[p]

They defeat the Gaznevides and subdue Persia, A. D. 1038.

Dynasty of the Seljukians, A. D. 1038-1152.

The victorious Turkmans immediately pro- ceeded to the election of a king; and, if the pro- bable tale of a Latin historian[q] deserves any cre- dit, they determined by lot the choice of their

[o] The Zendekan of d'Herbelot (p. 1028), the Dindaka of Dow (vol. i, p. 97), is probably the Daudaneckan of Abulfeda (Geograph. p. 345, Reiske), a small town of Chorasan, two days journey from Marû, and renowned through the East for the production and manu- facture of cotton.

[p] The Byzantine historians (Cedrenus, tom. ii, p. 766, 767. Zona- ras, tom ii, p. 255. Nicephorus Bryennius, p. 21) have confounded, in this revolution, the truth of time and place, of names and persons, of causes and events. The ignorance and errors of these Greek (which I shall not stop to unravel) may inspire some distrust of the story of Cyaxares and Cyrus, as it is told by their most eloquent pro- decessors.

[q] Willerm. Tyr. l. i, c. 7, p. 633. The divination by arrows is an- cient and famous in the East.

CHAP. LVII.

new master. A number of arrows were successively inscribed with the name of a tribe, a family, and a candidate; they were drawn from the bundle by the hand of a child: and the important prize was obtained by Togrul Beg, the son of Michael, the son of Seljuk, whose surname was immortalized in the greatness of his posterity. The sultan Mahmud, who valued himself on his skill in national genealogy, professed his ignorance of the family of Seljuk; yet the father of that race appears to have been a chief of power and renown.[r] For a daring intrusion into the haram of his prince, Seljuk was banished from Turkestan; with a numerous tribe of his friends and vassals, he passed the Jaxartes, encamped in the neighbourhood of Samarcand, embraced the religion of Mahomet, and acquired the crown of martyrdom in a war against the infidels. His age, of an hundred and seven years, surpassed the life of his son, and Seljuk adopted the care of his two grandsons, Togrul and Jaafar; the eldest of whom, at the age of forty-five, was invested with the title of sultan, in the royal city of Nishabur. The blind determination of chance was justified by the virtues of the successful candidate. It would be superfluous to praise the

Reign and character of Togrul Beg, A. D. 1038-1063.

[r] D'Herbelot, p. 801. Yet after the fortune of his posterity, Seljuk became the thirty-fourth in lineal descent from the great Afrasiab, emperor of Touran (p. 300). The Tartar pedigree of the house of Zingis gave a different cast to flattery and fable; and the historian Mirkhond derives the Seljukides from Alankavah, the virgin-mother (p. 801, col. 2). If they be the same as the *Solsuts* of Abulghazi Bahader Khan (Hist. Genealogique, p. 148), we quote in their favour the most weighty evidence of a Tartar prince himself, the descendant of Zingis, Alankavah, or Alanou, and Oguz Khan.

CHAP. LVII.

valour of a Turk; and the ambition of Togrul[s] was equal to his valour. By his arms, the Gaznevides were expelled from the eastern kingdoms of Persia, and gradually driven to the banks of the Indus, in search of a softer and more wealthy conquest. In the West he annihilated the dynasty of the Bowides; and the sceptre of Irak passed from the Persian to the Turkish nation. The princes who had felt, or who feared, the Seljukian arrows, bowed their heads in the dust: by the conquest of Aderbijan, or Media, he approached the Roman confines; and the shepherd presumed to dispatch an ambassador, or herald, to demand the tribute and obedience of the emperor of Constantinople.[t] In his own dominions, Togrul was the father of his soldiers and people: by a firm and equal administration, Persia was relieved from the evils of anarchy; and the same hands which had been imbrued in blood became the guardians of justice and the public peace. The more rustic, perhaps the wisest, portion of the Turkmans[u] continued to dwell in the tents of their ancestors; and, from the Oxus

[s] By a slight corruption, Togrul Beg is the Tangroli-pix of the Greeks. His reign and character are faithfully exhibited by d'Herbelot (Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 1027, 1028) and de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii, p. 189-201).

[t] Cedrenus, tom. ii, p. 771, 775. Zonaras, tom. ii, p. 257. With their usual knowledge of oriental affairs, they describe the ambassador as a *sheriff*, who, like the syncellus of the patriarch, was the vicar and successor of the caliph.

[u] From William of Tyre I have borrowed the distinction of Turks and Turkmans, which at least is popular and convenient. The names are the same, and the addition of *man* is of the same import in the Persic and Teutonic idioms. Few critics will adopt the etymology of James de Vitry (Hist. Hierosol. l. i, c. 11, p. 1061), of Turcomani, quasi *Turci et Comani*, a mixed people.

CHAP. LVII.

to the Euphrates, these military colonies were protected and propagated by their native princes. But the Turks of the court and city were refined by business and softened by pleasure: they imitated the dress, language, and manners of Persia; and the royal palaces of Nishabur and Rei displayed the order and magnificence of a great monarchy. The most deserving of the Arabians and Persians were promoted to the honours of the state; and the whole body of the Turkish nation embraced with fervour and sincerity the religion of Mahomet. The northern swarms of barbarians, who overspread both Europe and Asia, have been irreconcilably separated by the consequences of a similar conduct. Among the Moslems, as among the Christians, their vague and local traditions have yielded to the reason and authority of the prevailing system, to the fame of antiquity, and the consent of nations. But the triumph of the koran is more pure and meritorious, as it was not assisted by any visible splendour of worship which might allure the pagans by some resemblance of idolatry. The first of the Seljukian sultans was conspicuous by his zeal and faith: each day he repeated the five prayers which are enjoined to the true believers: of each week, the two first days were consecrated by an extraordinary fast; and in every city a mosch was completed, before Togrul presumed to lay the foundations of a palace.[1]

With the belief of the koran, the son of Seljuk

[1] Hist. Generale des Huns, tom. iii, p. 105, 106, 107. M. de Guignes quotes Abulmahasen, an historian of Egypt.

CHAP. LVII.

imbibed a lively reverence for the successor of the prophet. But that sublime character was still disputed by the caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt, and each of the rivals was solicitous to prove his title in the judgment of the strong, though illiterate, barbarians. Mahmud the Gaznevide had declared himself in favour of the line of Abbas; and had treated with indignity the robe of honour which was presented by the Fatimite ambassador. Yet the ungrateful Hashemite had changed with the change of fortune; he applauded the victory of Zendecan, and named the Seljukian sultan his temporal vicegerent over the Moslem world. As Togrul executed and enlarged this important trust, he was called to the deliverance of the caliph Cayem, and obeyed the holy summons, which gave a new kingdom to his arms.[7] In the palace of Bagdad, the commander of the faithful still slumbered, a venerable phantom. His servant or master, the prince of the Bowides, could no longer protect him from the insolence of meaner tyrants; and the Euphrates and Tigris were oppressed by the revolt of the Turkish and Arabian emirs. The presence of a conqueror was implored as a blessing; and the transient mischiefs of fire and sword were excused as the sharp but salutary remedies which alone could restore the health of the republic. At the head of an irresistible force, the sultan of Persia marched from Hama-

He delivers the caliph of Bagdad, A. D. 1055.

[7] Consult the Bibliotheque Orientale, in the articles of the *Abbassides*, *Cahor*, and *Caiem*, and the annals of Elmacin and Abulpharagius.

dan: the proud were crushed, the prostrate were spared; the prince of the Bowides disappeared; the heads of the most obstinate rebels were laid at the feet of Togrul; and he inflicted a lesson of obedience on the people of Mosul and Bagdad. After the chastisement of the guilty, and the restoration of peace, the royal shepherd accepted the reward of his labours; and a solemn comedy represented the triumph of religious prejudice over barbarian power.[z] The Turkish sultan embarked on the Tigris, landed at the gate of Racca, and made his public entry on horseback. At the palace-gate he respectfully dismounted, and walked on foot, preceded by his emirs without arms. The caliph was seated behind his black veil: the black garment of the Abbassides was cast over his shoulders, and he held in his hand the staff of the apostle of God. The conqueror of the East kissed the ground, stood some time in a modest posture, and was led towards the throne by the vizir and an interpreter. After Togrul had seated himself on another throne, his commission was publicly read, which declared him the temporal lieutenant of the vicar of the prophet. He was successively invested with seven robes of honour, and presented with seven slaves, the natives of the seven climates of the Arabian empire. His mystic veil was perfumed with musk; two crowns were placed on his head; two scymetars were girded to his side,

CHAP. LVII.

His investiture,

[z] For this curious ceremony, I am indebted to M. de Guignes (tom. iii, p, 197, 198), and that learned author is obliged to Bondari, who composed in Arabic the history of the Seljukides (tom. v, p. 365.) I am ignorant of his age, country, and character.

CHAP. LVII.

as the symbols of a double reign over the East and West. After this inauguration, the sultan was prevented from prostrating himself a second time; but he twice kissed the hand of the commander of the faithful, and his titles were proclaimed by the voice of heralds and the applause of the Moslems. In a second visit to Bagdad, the Seljukian prince again rescued the caliph from his enemies; and devoutly, on foot, led the bridle of his mule from the prison to the palace. Their alliance was cemented by the marriage of Togrul's sister with the successor of the prophet. Without reluctance he had introduced a Turkish virgin into his haram; but Cayem proudly refused his daughter to the sultan, disdained to mingle the blood of the Hashemites with the blood of a Scythian shepherd; and protracted the negociation many months, till the gradual diminution of his revenue admonished him that he was still in the hands of a master. The royal nuptials were followed by the death of Togrul himself.[a] As he left no children, his nephew Alp Arslan succeeded to the title and prerogatives of sultan; and his name, after that of the caliph, was pronounced in the public prayers of the Moslems. Yet in this revolution, the Abbassides acquired a larger measure of liberty and power. On the throne of Asia, the Turkish monarchs were less jealous of the domestic adminis-

and death, A. D. 1063.

[a] Eodem anno (A. H. 455) obiit princeps Togrulbecus . . . rex fuit clemens, prudens, et peritus regnandi, cujus terror corda mortalium invaserat, ita ut obedirent ei reges atque ad ipsum scriberent. Elmacin, Hist. Saracen, p. 342, vers. Erpenii.

stration of Bagdad; and the commanders of the faithful were relieved from the ignominious vexations to which they had been exposed by the presence and poverty of the Persian dynasty. CHAP. LVII.

Since the fall of the caliphs, the discord and degeneracy of the Saracens respected the Asiatic provinces of Rome; which, by the victories of Nicephorus, Zimisces, and Basil, had been extended as far as Antioch and the eastern boundaries of Armenia. Twenty-five years after the death of Basil, his successors were suddenly assaulted by an unknown race of barbarians, who united the Scythian valour with the fanaticism of new proselytes, and the art and riches of a powerful monarchy.[b] The myriads of Turkish horse overspread a frontier of six hundred miles from Taurus to Arzeroum, and the blood of one hundred and thirty thousand Christians was a grateful sacrifice to the Arabian prophet. Yet the arms of Togrul did not make any deep or lasting impression on the Greek empire. The torrent rolled away from the open country; the sultan retired without glory or success from the siege of an Armenian city; the obscure hostilities were continued or suspended with a vicissitude of

The Turks invade the Roman empire, A. D. 1050.

[b] For these wars of the Turks and Romans, see in general the Byzantine histories of Zonaras and Cedrenus, Scylitzes the continuator of Cedrenus, and Nicephorus Bryennius Cæsar. The two first of these were monks, the two latter statesmen; yet such were the Greeks, that the difference of style and character is scarcely discernible. For the orientals, I draw as usual on the wealth of d'Herbelot (see titles of the first Seljukides) and the accuracy of de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii, l. x).

CHAP. LVII.

events; and the bravery of the Macedonian legions renewed the fame of the conqueror of Asia.[c] The name of Alp Arslan, the valiant lion, is expressive of the popular idea of the perfection of man; and the successor of Togrul displayed the fierceness and generosity of the royal animal. He passed the Euphrates at the head of the Turkish cavalry, and entered Cæsarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia, to which he had been attracted by the fame and wealth of the temple of St Basil. The solid structure resisted the destroyer: but he carried away the doors of the shrine incrusted with gold and pearls, and profaned the relics of the tutelar saint, whose mortal frailties were now covered by the venerable rust of antiquity. The final conquest of Armenia and Georgia was atchieved by Alp Arslan. In Armenia, the title of a kingdom, and the spirit of a nation, were annihilated: the artificial fortifications were yielded by the mercenaries of Constantinople; by strangers without faith, veterans without pay or arms, and recruits without experience or discipline. The loss of this important frontier was the news of a day; and the catholics were neither surprised nor displeased, that a people so deeply infected with the Nestorian and Eutychian errors, had been delivered by Christ

Reign of Alp Arslan, A. D. 1063-1072.

Conquest of Armenia and Georgia, A. D. 1065-1068.

[c] Ἐφιρτο γαρ εν Τυρκοις λογος, ως εις πεπρωμενον καταγραφηται το Τυρκων γενος απο της τοιαυτης διπλαιας, οποιαν ὁ Μακεδων Αλεξανδρος ειχεν καταγριλατο Περσας. Cedrenus, tom. ii, p. 791. The credulity of the vulgar is always probable; and the Turks had learned from the Arabs the history or legend of Escander Dulcarnein (d'Herbelot, p. 317, &c.)

and his mother into the hands of the infidels.[d] The woods and valleys of mount Caucasus were more strenuously defended by the native Georgians,[e] or Iberians: but the Turkish sultan and his son Malek were indefatigable in this holy war; their captives were compelled to promise a spiritual as well as temporal obedience; and, instead of their collars and bracelets, an iron horse-shoe, a badge of ignominy, was imposed on the infidels who still adhered to the worship of their fathers. The change, however, was not sincere or universal; and, through ages of servitude, the Georgians have maintained the succession of their princes and bishops. But a race of men, whom nature has cast in her most perfect mould is degraded by poverty, ignorance, and vice; their profession, and still more their practice of Christianity, is an empty name; and if they have emerged from heresy, it is only be-

CHAP. LVII.

[d] Οἱ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν, καὶ Ἀρμενίαν οἰκοῦσιν· καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν τῷ Νεστορίου καὶ τῶν Ἀκεφάλων θρησκευουσιν αἱρέσει (Scylitzes, ad calcem Cedreni, tom. ii, p. 834, whose ambiguous construction shall not tempt me to suspect that he confounded the Nestorian and Monophysite heresies). He familiarly talks of the μανὰς, χόλος, ὀργὴ, θεὸς, qualities, as I should apprehend, very foreign to the perfect Being; but his bigotry is forced to confess, that they were soon afterwards discharged on the orthodox Romans.

[e] Had the name of Georgians been known to the Greeks (Stritter, Memoriæ Byzant. tom. iv, *Iberica*), I should derive it from their agriculture, as the Σκυθῶν γεωργοὶ of Herodotus (l. iv, c. 18, p. 289, edit. Wesseling). But it appears only since the crusades, among the Latins (Jac. a Vitriaco, Hist. Hierosol. c. 79, p. 1095) and Orientals (d'Herbelot, p. 407), and was devoutly borrowed from St George of Cappadocia.

CHAP. LVII.

cause they are too illiterate to remember a metaphysical creed.[f]

The emperor Romanus Diogenes, A. D. 1068-1071.

The false or genuine magnanimity of Mahmud the Gaznevide, was not imitated by Alp Arslan; and he attacked without scruple the Greek empress Eudocia and her children. His alarming progress compelled her to give herself and her sceptre to the hand of a soldier; and Romanus Diogenes was invested with the imperial purple. His patriotism, and perhaps his pride, urged him from Constantinople within two months after his accession; and the next campaign he most scandalously took the field during the holy festival of Easter. In the palace, Diogenes was no more than the husband of Eudocia: in the camp he was the emperor of the Romans, and he sustained that character with feeble resources, and invincible courage. By his spirit and success, the soldiers were taught to act, the subjects to hope, and the enemies to fear. The Turks had penetrated into the heart of Phrygia; but the sultan himself had resigned to his emirs the prosecution of the war; and their numerous detachments were scattered over Asia in the security of conquest. Laden with spoil and careless of discipline, they were separately surprised and defeated by the Greeks: the activity of the emperor seemed to multiply his presence; and while they heard of his expedition to Antioch, the enemy

[f] Mosheim, Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 632. See in Chardin's Travels (tom. i, p. 171-174), the manners and religion of this handsome but worthless nation. See the pedigree of their princes from Adam to the present century, in the tables of M. de Guignes (tom. i, p. 433-438).

felt his sword on the hills of Trebizond. In three laborious campaigns, the Turks were driven beyond the Euphrates: in the fourth and last, Romanus undertook the deliverance of Armenia. The desolation of the land obliged him to transport a supply of two months provisions; and he marched forwards to the siege of Malazkerd,[s] an important fortress in the midway between the modern cities of Arzeorum and Van. His army amounted, at the least, to one hundred thousand men. The troops of Constantinople were reinforced by the disorderly multitudes of Phrygia and Cappadocia; but the real strength was composed of the subjects and allies of Europe, the legions of Macedonia, and the squadrons of Bulgaria; the Uzi, a Moldavian horde, who were themselves of the Turkish race;[t] and, above all, the mercenary and adventurous bands of French and Normans. Their lances were commanded by the valiant Ursel of Baliol, the kinsman or father of the Scottish kings,[u] and were allowed to ex-

CHAP. LVII.

[s] This city is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Administrat. Imperii, l. ii., c. 44, p. 119), and the Byzantines of the eleventh century, under the name of Mantzikierte, and by some is confounded with Theodosiopolis; but Delisle, in his notes and maps, has very properly fixed the situation. Abulfeda (Geograph. tab. xviii, p. 310) describes Malasgerd as a small town built with black stone, supplied with water, without trees, &c.

[t] The Uzi of the Greeks (Stritter, Memor. Byzant. tom. iii, p. 923-948) are the Gozz of the Orientals (Hist. des Huns, tom. ii, p. 522, tom. iii, p. 133, &c.) They appear on the Danube and the Volga, in Armenia, Syria, and Chorassan, and the name seems to have been extended to the whole Turkman race.

[u] Urselius (the Russelius of Zonaras) is distinguished by Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i, c. 33) among the Norman conquerors of Sicily, and with the surname of *Baliol*: and our own historians will tell how the Baliols came from Normandy to Durham, built Bernard's castle on the Tees, married an heiress of Scotland, &c. Ducange (Not. ad

CHAP. LVII.

cel in the exercise of arms, or, according to the Greek style, in the practice of the Pyrrhic dance.

Defeat of the Romans, A. D. 1071, August.

On the report of this bold invasion, which threatened his hereditary dominions, Alp Arslan flew to the scene of action at the head of forty thousand horse.[k] His rapid and skilful evolutions distressed and dismayed the superior numbers of the Greeks; and in the defeat of Basilacius, one of their principal generals, he displayed the first example of his valour and clemency. The imprudence of the emperor had separated his forces after the reduction of Malazkerd. It was in vain that he attempted to recal the mercenary Franks: they refused to obey his summons; he disdained to await their return: the desertion of the Uzi filled his mind with anxiety and suspicion; and against the most salutary advice he rushed forward to speedy and decisive action. Had he listened to the fair proposals of the sultan, Romanus might have secured a retreat, perhaps a peace; but in these overtures he supposed the fear or weakness of the enemy, and his answer was conceived in the tone of insult and defiance. "If the barbarian wishes for peace, "let him evacuate the ground which he occupies "for the encampment of the Romans, and sur-

Nicephor. Bryennium, l. ii, N°. 4) has laboured the subject in honour of the president de Bailleul, whose father had exchanged the sword for the gown.

[k] Elmacin (p. 849, 314) assigns this probable number, which is reduced by Abulpharagius to 15,000 (p. 227), and by d'Herbelot (p. 102) to 14,000 horse. But the same Elmacin gives 300,000 men to the emperor, of whom Abulpharagius says, cum centum hominum millibus, multisque equis et magnâ pompa instructus. The Greeks abstain from any definition of numbers.

"render his city and palace of Rei as a pledge "of his sincerity." Alp Arslan smiled at the vanity of the demand, but he wept the death of so many faithful Moslems; and, after a devout prayer, proclaimed a free permission to all who were desirous of retiring from the field. With his own hands he tied up his horse's tail, exchanged his bow and arrows for a mace and scymetar, clothed himself in a white garment, perfumed his body with musk, and declared that if he were vanquished, that spot should be the place of his burial.[1] The sultan himself had affected to cast away his missile weapons; but his hopes of victory were placed in the arrows of the Turkish cavalry, whose squadrons were loosely distributed in the form of a crescent. Instead of the successive lines and reserves of the Grecian tactics, Romanus led his army in a single and solid phalanx, and pressed with vigour and impatience the artful and yielding resistance of the barbarians. In this desultory and fruitless combat he wasted the greater part of a summer's day, till prudence and fatigue compelled him to return to his camp. But a retreat is always perilous in the face of an active foe; and no sooner had the standard been turned to the rear than the phalanx was broken by the base cowardice, or the baser jealousy, of Andronicus, a rival prince, who disgraced his birth and the purple of the Cæ-

CHAP. LVII.

[1] The Byzantine writers do not speak so distinctly of the presence of the sultan; he committed his forces to an eunuch, had retired to a distance, &c. Is it ignorance, or jealousy, or truth?

CHAP. LVII.

sars.[m] The Turkish squadrons poured a cloud of arrows on this moment of confusion and lassitude; and the horns of their formidable crescent were closed in the rear of the Greeks. In the destruction of the army and pillage of the camp, it would be needless to mention the number of the slain or captives. The Byzantine writers deplore the loss of an inestimable pearl: they forget to mention, that in this fatal day the Asiatic provinces of Rome were irretrievably sacrificed.

Captivity and deliverance of the emperor.

As long as a hope survived, Romanus attempted to rally, and save the relics of his army. When the centre, the imperial station, was left naked on all sides, and encompassed by the victorious Turks, he still, with desperate courage, maintained the fight till the close of day, at the head of the brave and faithful subjects who adhered to his standard. They fell around him; his horse was slain; the emperor was wounded; yet he stood alone and intrepid, till he was oppressed and bound by the strength of multitudes. The glory of this illustrious prize was disputed by a slave and a soldier; a slave who had seen him on the throne of Constantinople, and a soldier whose extreme deformity had been excused on the promise of some signal service. Despoiled of his arms, his jewels, and his purple, Roma-

[m] He was the son of the Cæsar John Ducas, brother of the emperor Constantine (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 165). Nicephorus Bryennius applauds his virtues and extenuates his faults (l. i, p. 30, 38, l. ii, p. 33). Yet he owns his enmity to Romanus, ὁ πάνυ δι' φιλίαν; ἔχων πρὸς βασιλέα. Scylitzes speaks more explicitly of his treason.

nus spent a dreary and perilous night on the field of battle, amidst a disorderly crowd of the meaner barbarians. In the morning the royal captive was presented to Alp Arslan, who doubted of his fortune, till the identity of the person was ascertained by the report of his ambassadors, and by the more pathetic evidence of Basilacius, who embraced with tears the feet of his unhappy sovereign. The successor of Constantine, in a plebeian habit, was led into the Turkish divan, and commanded to kiss the ground before the lord of Asia. He reluctantly obeyed; and Alp Arslan, starting from his throne, is said to have planted his foot on the neck of the Roman emperor.* But the fact is doubtful; and if, in this moment of insolence, the sultan complied with a national custom, the rest of his conduct has extorted the praise of his bigotted foes, and may afford a lesson to the most civilized ages. He instantly raised the royal captive from the ground; and thrice clasping his hand with tender sympathy, assured him, that his life and dignity should be inviolate in the hands of a prince who had learned to respect the majesty of his equals and the vicissitudes of fortune. From the divan, Romanus was conducted to an adjacent tent, where he was served with pomp and reverence by the officers of the sultan, who, twice each day, seated him in the place of honour at his own table. In a free and familiar conversation of eight days, not a word, not a look, of insult, escaped from

CHAP. LVII.

* This circumstance, which we read and doubt in Scylitzes and Constantine Manasses, is more prudently omitted by Nicephorus and Zonaras.

CHAP. LVII.

the conqueror; but he severely censured the unworthy subjects who had deserted their valiant prince in the hour of danger, and gently admonished his antagonist of some errors which he had committed in the management of the war. In the preliminaries of negociation, Alp Arslan asked him what treatment he expected to receive, and the calm indifference of the emperor displays the freedom of his mind. "If you are cruel," said he, "you will take my life; if you listen to "pride, you will drag me at your chariot wheels; "if you consult your interest, you will accept a "ransom, and restore me to my country." "And what," continued the sultan, "would "have been your own behaviour, had fortune "smiled on your arms?" The reply of the Greek betrays a sentiment, which prudence, and even gratitude, should have taught him to suppress. "Had I vanquished," he fiercely said, "I would have inflicted on thy body many a "stripe." The Turkish conqueror smiled at the insolence of his captive; observed that the christian law inculcated the love of enemies and forgiveness of injuries; and nobly declared, that he would not imitate an example which he condemned. After mature deliberation, Alp Arslan dictated the terms of liberty and peace, a ransom of a million, an annual tribute of three hundred and sixty thousand pieces of gold,* the marriage of the royal children, and the deliverance of all the Moslems who were in the power of the Greeks.

* The ransom and tribute are attested by reason and the Orientals. The other Greeks are modestly silent; but Nicephorus Bryennius dares to affirm, that the terms were ουκ αναξιοι Ρωμαιων αρχης, and that the emperor would have preferred death to a shameful treaty.

CHAP. LVII.

Romanus, with a sigh, subscribed this treaty, so disgraceful to the majesty of the empire: he was immediately invested with a Turkish robe of honour; his nobles and patricians were restored to their sovereign; and the sultan, after a courteous embrace, dismissed him with rich presents and a military guard. No sooner did he reach the confines of the empire, than he was informed that the palace and provinces had disclaimed their allegiance to a captive: a sum of two hundred thousand pieces was painfully collected; and the fallen monarch transmitted this part of his ransom, with a sad confession of his impotence and disgrace. The generosity, or perhaps the ambition, of the sultan, prepared to espouse the cause of his ally; but his designs were prevented by the defeat, imprisonment, and death, of Romanus Diogenes.[p]

Death of Alp Arslan, A. D. 1072.

In the treaty of peace, it does not appear that Alp Arslan extorted any province or city from the captive emperor; and his revenge was satisfied with the trophies of his victory and the spoils of Anatolia, from Antioch to the Black Sea. The fairest part of Asia was subject to his laws: twelve hundred princes, or the sons of princes, stood before his throne; and two hundred thousand soldiers marched under his banners. The

[p] The defeat and captivity of Romanus Diogenes may be found in John Scylitzes ad calcem Cedreni, tom. ii, p. 835-843. Zonaras, tom. ii, p. 281-284. Nicephorus Bryennius, l. i, p. 25-32. Glycas, p. 325-327. Constantine Manasses, p. 164. Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 348, 344. Abulpharag. Dynast. p. 227. d'Herbelot, p. 102, 103. De Guignes, tom. iii, p. 207-211. Besides my old acquaintance Elmacin and Abulpharagius, the historian of the Huns has consulted Abulfeda, and his epitomizer Benschounah, a Chronicle of the Caliphs, by Soyuthi, Abulmahasen of Egypt, and Novairi of Africa

CHAP. LVII.

sultan disdained to pursue the fugitive Greeks; but he meditated the more glorious conquest of Turkestan, the original seat of the house of Seljuk. He moved from Bagdad to the banks of the Oxus; a bridge was thrown over the river; and twenty days were consumed in the passage of his troops. But the progress of the great king was retarded by the governor of Berzem; and Joseph the Carizmian presumed to defend his fortress against the powers of the East. When he was produced a captive in the royal tent, the sultan, instead of praising his valour, severely reproached his obstinate folly; and the insolent replies of the rebel provoked a sentence, that he should be fastened to four stakes and left to expire in that painful situation. At this command, the desperate Carizmian, drawing a dagger, rushed headlong towards the throne: the guards raised their battle-axes; their zeal was checked by Alp Arslan, the most skilful archer of the age; he drew his bow, but his foot slipped, the arrow glanced aside, and he received in his breast the dagger of Joseph, who was instantly cut in pieces. The wound was mortal; and the Turkish prince bequeathed a dying admonition to the pride of kings. "In my youth," said Alp Arslan, "I "was advised by a sage, to humble myself be- "fore God; to distrust my own strength; and "never to despise the most contemptible foe. "I have neglected these lessons; and my ne- "glect has been deservedly punished. Yester- "day, as from an eminence, I beheld the num- "bers, the discipline, and the spirit of my armies; "the earth seemed to tremble under my feet;

"and I said in my heart, surely thou art the king "of the world, the greatest and most invincible "of warriors. These armies are no longer mine; "and in the confidence of my personal strength, "I now fall by the hand of an assassin."[q] Alp Arslan possessed the virtues of a Turk and a Mussulman; his voice and stature commanded the reverence of mankind; his face was shaded with long whiskers; and his ample turban was fashioned in the shape of a crown. The remains of the sultan were deposited in the tomb of the Seljukian dynasty; and the passenger might read and meditate this useful inscription: "*O ye "who have seen the glory of Alp Arslan exalted "to the heavens, repair to Maru, and you will "behold it buried in the dust!*". The annihilation of the inscription, and the tomb itself, more forcibly proclaims the instability of human greatness.

CHAP. LVII.

During the life of Alp Arslan, his eldest son had been acknowledged as the future sultan of the Turks. On his father's death, the inheritance was disputed by an uncle, a cousin, and a brother: they drew their scymetars, and assembled their followers; and the triple victory of Malek Shah[r] established his own reputation and the

Reign and prosperity of Malek Shah, A. D. 1072-1092.

[q] This interesting death is told by d'Herbelot (p. 103-104), and M. de Guignes (tom. iii, p. 212, 213), from their Oriental writers; but neither of them have transfused the spirit of Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 344, 345).

[r] A critic of high renown (the late Dr Johnson), who has severely scrutinized the epitaphs of Pope, might cavil in this sublime inscription at the words, "repair to Maru," since the reader must already be at Maru before he could peruse the inscription.

[s] The Bibliotheque Orientale has given the text of the reign of Malek (p. 512, 513, 514, 654, 655); and the Histoire Generale des Huns

CHAP. LVII.

right of primogeniture. In every age, and more especially in Asia, the thirst of power has inspired the same passions and occasioned the same disorders; but from the long series of civil war, it would not be easy to extract a sentiment more pure and magnanimous than is contained in the saying of the Turkish prince. On the eve of the battle, he performed his devotions at Thous, before the tomb of the imam Riza. As the sultan rose from the ground, he asked his vizir Nizam, who had knelt beside him, what had been the object of his secret petition: "That your arms "may be crowned with victory," was the prudent, and most probably the sincere answer of the minister. "For my part," replied the generous Malek, "I implored the Lord of hosts that "he would take from me my life and crown, if "my brother be more worthy than myself to "reign over the Moslems." The favourable judgment of heaven was ratified by the caliph; and for the first time, the sacred title of commander of the faithful was communicated to a barbarian. But this barbarian, by his personal merit, and the extent of his empire, was the greatest prince of his age. After the settlement of Persia and Syria, he marched at the head of innumerable armies, to atchieve the conquest of Turkestan, which had been undertaken by his father. In his passage of the Oxus, the boatmen, who had been employed in transporting some troops, complained, that their payment was as-

(tom. iii, p. 214-224) has added the usual measure of repetition, emendation, and supplement. Without these two learned Frenchmen, I should be blind indeed in the Eastern world.

signed on the revenues of Antioch. The sultan frowned at this preposterous choice; but he smiled at the artful flattery of his vizir. "It was "not to postpone their reward, that I selected "those remote places, but to leave a memorial "to posterity, that, under your reign, Antioch "and the Oxus were subject to the same sove-"reign." But this description of his limits was unjust and parsimonious: beyond the Oxus he reduced to his obedience the cities of Bochara, Carizme, and Samarcand, and crushed each rebellious slave, or independent savage, who dared to resist. Malek passed the Sihon or Jaxartes, the last boundary of Persian civilization: the hordes of Turkestan yielded to his supremacy; his name was inserted on the coins, and in the prayers of Cashgar, a Tartar kingdom on the extreme borders of China. From the Chinese frontier, he stretched his immediate jurisdiction or feudatory sway to the west and south, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia Fœlix. Instead of resigning himself to the luxury of his haram, the shepherd king, both in peace and war, was in action and in the field. By the perpetual motion of the royal camp, each province was successively blessed with his presence; and he is said to have perambulated twelve times the wide extent of his dominions, which surpassed the *Asiatic* reign of Cyrus and the caliphs. Of these expeditions, the most pious and splendid was the pilgrimage of Mecca: the freedom and safety of the caravans were protected by his arms; the

CHAP. LVII.

CHAP. LVII.

citizens and pilgrims were enriched by the profusion of his alms; and the desert was cheered by the places of relief and refreshment, which he instituted for the use of his brethren. Hunting was the pleasure, and even the passion, of the sultan, and his train consisted of forty-seven thousand horses; but after the massacre of a Turkish chase, for each piece of game, he bestowed a piece of gold on the poor, a slight atonement, at the expence of the people, for the cost and mischief of the amusement of kings. In the peaceful prosperity of his reign, the cities of Asia were adorned with palaces and hospitals, with moschs and colleges; few departed from his divan without reward, and none without justice. The language and literature of Persia revived under the house of Seljuk;[t] and if Malek emulated the liberality of a Turk less potent than himself,[u] his palace might resound with the songs of an hundred poets. The sultan bestowed a more serious and learned care on the reformation of the calendar, which was effected by a general assembly of the astronomers of the East. By a law of the prophet, the Moslems are confined to the irregular course of the lunar months; in

[t] See an excellent discourse at the end of Sir William Jones's history of Nadir Shah, and the articles of the poets, Amak, Anvari, Raschadi, &c. in the Bibliotheque Orientale.

[u] His name was Kheder Khan. Four bags were placed round his sopha, and as he listened to the song, he cast handfuls of gold and silver to the poets (d'Herbelot, p. 107). All this may be true; but I do not understand how he could reign in Transoxiana in the time of Malek Shah, and much less how Kheder could surpass him in power and pomp. I suspect that the beginning, not the end, of the eleventh century, is the true æra of his reign.

Persia, since the age of Zoroaster, the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival;[x] but after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected; the fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days; and the date of the spring was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces. The reign of Malek was illustrated by the *Gelalæan* æra; and all errors, either past or future, were corrected by a computation of time, which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style.[y] CHAP. LVII.

In a period when Europe was plunged in the deepest barbarism, the light and splendour of Asia may be ascribed to the docility rather than the knowledge of the Turkish conquerors. An ample share of their wisdom and virtue is due to a Persian vizir, who ruled the empire under the reigns of Alp Arzlan and his son. Nizam, one of the most illustrious ministers of the East, was honoured by the caliph as an oracle of religion and science; he was trusted by the sultan as the faithful vicegerent of his power and justice. After an administration of thirty years, the fame of the vizir, his wealth, and even his services, were transformed into crimes. He was overthrown by the insidious arts of a woman and a rival; and his fall was hastened by a rash declaration, that his cap and ink-horn, the badges of his office, were His death, A. D. 1092.

[x] See Chardin, Voyages en Perse, tom. ii. p. 235.

[y] The Gelalæan era (Gelaleddin, glory of the faith, was one of the names or titles of Malek Shah) is fixed to the 15th of March, A. H. 471, A. D. 1079. Dr Hyde has produced the original testimonies of the Persians and Arabians (de religione veterum Persarum, c. 16, p. 209-211).

CHAP. LVII.

connected by the divine decree with the throne and diadem of the sultan. At the age of ninety-three years, the venerable statesman was dismissed by his master, accused by his enemies, and murdered by a fanatic: the last words of Nizam attested his innocence, and the remainder of Malek's life was short and inglorious.[y] From Ispahan, the scene of this disgraceful transaction, the sultan moved to Bagdad, with the design of transplanting the caliph, and of fixing his own residence in the capital of the Moslem world. The feeble successor of Mahomet obtained a respite of ten days; and before the expiration of the term, the barbarian was summoned by the angel of death. His ambassadors at Constantinople had asked in marriage a Roman princess; but the proposal was decently eluded; and the daughter of Alexius, who might herself have been the victim, expresses her abhorrence of this unnatural conjunction.[z] The daughter of the sultan was bestowed on the caliph Moctadi, with the imperious condition, that, renouncing the society of his wives and concubines, he should for ever confine himself to this honourable alliance.

Division of the Seljukian empire.

The greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah. His vacant throne was disputed by his brother and his four sons; and, after a series of civil wars, the treaty which reconciled the surviving candidates confirmed a lasting separation in the *Persian* dynasty,

[z] She speaks of this Persian royalty as απασης χαλδαιμονιας πενιας. Anna Comnena was only nine years old at the end of the reign of Malek Shah (A. D. 1092), and when she speaks of his assassination, he confounds the sultan with the vizir (Alexius, l. vi, p. 177, 178).

CHAP. LVII.

the eldest and principal branch of the house of Seljuk. The three younger dynasties were those of *Kerman*, of *Syria*, and of *Roum*: the first of these commanded an extensive, though obscure,[a] dominion on the shores of the Indian ocean:[b] the second expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damascus; and the third, our peculiar care, invaded the Roman provinces of Asia Minor. The generous policy of Malek contributed to their elevation: he allowed the princes of his blood, even those whom he had vanquished in the field, to seek new kingdoms worthy of their ambition; nor was he displeased that they should draw away the more ardent spirits, who might have disturbed the tranquillity of his reign. As the supreme head of his family and nation, the great sultan of Persia commanded the obedience and tribute of his royal brethren: the thrones of Kerman and Nice, of Aleppo and Damascus; the Atabeks, and emirs of Syria and Mesopotamia, erected their standards under the shadow of his sceptre;[c] and the hordes of Turkmans overspread the plains of the western Asia. After the

[a] So obscure, that the industry of M. de Guignes could only copy (tom. i, p. 244, tom. iii, part i, p. 269, &c.) the history, or rather list, of the Seljukides of Kerman, in Bibliotheque Orientale. They were extinguished before the end of the twelfth century.

[b] Tavernier, perhaps the only traveller who has visited Kerman, describes the capital as a great ruinous village, twenty-five days journey from Ispahan, and twenty-seven from Ormus, in the midst of a fertile country (Voyages en Turquie et in Perse, p. 107, 110).

[c] It appears from Anna Comnena, that the Turks of Asia Minor obeyed the signet and chauss of the great sultan (Alexius, l. vi, p. 170); and that the two sons of Solimon were detained in his court (p. 180).

CHAP. LVII.

death of Malek, the bands of union and subordination were relaxed and finally dissolved: the indulgence of the house of Seljuk invested their slaves with the inheritance of kingdoms; and, in the Oriental style, a crowd of princes arose from the dust of their feet.[d]

Conquest of Asia Minor by the Turks, A. D. 1074-1084.

A prince of the royal line, Cutulmish, the son of Izrail, the son of Seljuk, had fallen in a battle against Alp Arslan, and the humane victor had dropt a tear over his grave. His five sons, strong in arms, ambitious of power, and eager for revenge, unsheathed their scymetars against the son of Alp Arslan. The two armies expected the signal, when the caliph, forgetful of the majesty which secluded him from vulgar eyes, interposed his venerable mediation. "Instead of "shedding the blood of your brethren, your bre-"thren both in descent and faith, unite your "forces in an holy war against the Greeks; the "enemies of God and his apostle." They listened to his voice; the sultan embraced his rebellious kinsmen; and the eldest, the valiant Soliman, accepted the royal standard, which gave him the free conquest and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman empire, from Arzeroum to Constantinople, and the unknown regions of the West.[e] Accompanied by his four

[d] This expression is quoted by Petit de la Croix (Vie de Gengiscan, p. 161) from some poet, most probably a Persian.

[e] On the conquest of Asia Minor, M. de Guignes has derived no assistance from the Turkish or Arabian writers, who produce a naked list of the Seljukides of Roum. The Greeks are unwilling to expose their shame, and we must extort some hints from Scylitzes (p. 860, 863), Nicephorus Briennius (p. 83, 91, 92, &c. 103, 104), and Anna Comnena (Alexias, p. 91, 92, &c. 108, &c.).

brothers, he passed the Euphrates: the Turkish camp was soon seated in the neighbourhood of Kutaieh in Phrygia: and his flying cavalry laid waste the country as far as the Hellespont and the Black Sea. Since the decline of the empire, the peninsula of Asia Minor had been exposed to the transient, though destructive, inroads of the Persians and Saracens; but the fruits of a lasting conquest were reserved for the Turkish sultan; and his arms were introduced by the Greeks, who aspired to reign on the ruins of their country. Since the captivity of Romanus, six years the feeble son of Eudocia had trembled under the weight of the imperial crown, till the provinces of the east and west were lost in the same month by a double rebellion: of either chief Nicephorus was the common name; but the surnames of Bryennius and Botoniates distinguish the European and Asiatic candidates. Their reasons, or rather their promises, were weighed in the divan; and, after some hesitation, Soliman declared himself in favour of Botoniates, opened a free passage to his troops in their march from Antioch to Nice, and joined the banner of the crescent to that of the cross. After his ally had ascended the throne of Constantinople, the sultan was hospitably entertained in the suburb of Chrysopolis or Scutari; and a body of two thousand Turks was transported into Europe, to whose dexterity and courage the new emperor was indebted for the defeat and captivity of his rival Bryennius. But the conquest of Europe was dearly purchased by the sa-

CHAP. LVII.

CHAP. LVII.

crifice of Asia: Constantinople was deprived of the obedience and revenue of the provinces beyond the Bosphorus and Hellespont; and the regular progress of the Turks, who fortified the passes of the rivers and mountains, left not a hope of their retreat or expulsion. Another candidate implored the aid of the sultan: Melissenus, in his purple robes and red buskins, attended the motions of the Turkish camp; and the desponding cities were tempted by the summons of a Roman prince, who immediately surrendered them into the hands of the barbarians. These acquisitions were confirmed by a treaty of peace with the emperor Alexius; his fear of Robert compelled him to seek the friendship of Soliman; and it was not till after the sultan's death that he extended as far as Nicomedia, about sixty miles from Constantinople, the eastern boundary of the Roman world. Trebizond alone, defended on either side by the sea and mountains, preserved at the extremity of the Euxine the ancient character of a Greek colony, and the future destiny of a christian empire.

The Seljukian kingdom of Roum.

Since the first conquests of the caliphs, the establishment of the Turks in Anatolia or Asia Minor was the most deplorable loss which the church and empire had sustained. By the propagation of the Moslem faith, Soliman deserved the name of *Gazi*, a holy champion; and his new kingdom of the Romans, or of *Roum*, was added to the tables of Oriental geography. It is described as extending from the Euphrates to Constantinople, from the Black Sea to the confines of

CHAP. LVII.

Syria; pregnant with mines of silver and iron, of alum and copper, fruitful in corn and wine, and productive of cattle and excellent horses.[f] The wealth of Lydia, the arts of the Greeks, the splendour of the Augustan age, existed only in books and ruins, which were equally obscure in the eyes of the Scythian conquerors. Yet, in the present decay, Anatolia still contains *some* wealthy and populous cities; and, under the Byzantine empire, they were far more flourishing in numbers, size, and opulence. By the choice of the sultan, Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, was preferred for his palace and fortress: the seat of the Seljukian dynasty of Roum was planted one hundred miles from Constantinople; and the divinity of Christ was denied and derided in the same temple in which it had been pronounced by the first general synod of the catholics. The unity of God, and the mission of Mahomet, were preached in the moschs; the Arabian learning was taught in the schools; the cadhis judged according to the law of the koran; the Turkish manners and language prevailed in the cities; and Turkman camps were scattered over the plains and mountains of Anatolia. On the hard conditions of tribute and servitude, the Greek Christians might enjoy the exercise of their religion; but their most holy churches were profaned; their priests and bishops were insulted;[g]

[f] Such is the description of Roum by Haiton the Armenian, whose Tartar history may be found in the collections of Ramusio and Bergeron (See Abulfeda, Geograph. climat. xvii, p. 301-305).

[g] Dicit eos quendam abusione Sodomitica intervertisse episcopum (Guibert. Abbat. Hist. Hierosol. l. i, p. 468). It is odd enough that

CHAP. LVII.

they were compelled to suffer the triumph of the *Pagans*, and the apostacy of their brethren; many thousand children were marked by the knife of circumcision; and many thousand captives were devoted to the service or the pleasures of their masters.[h] After the loss of Asia, Antioch still maintained her primitive allegiance to Christ and Cæsar; but the solitary province was separated from all Roman aid, and surrounded on all sides by the Mahometan powers. The despair of Philaretus, the governor, prepared the sacrifice of his religion and loyalty, had not his guilt been prevented by his son, who hastened to the Nicene palace, and offered to deliver this valuable prize into the hands of Soliman. The ambitious sultan mounted on horseback, and in twelve nights (for he reposed in the day) performed a march of six hundred miles. Antioch was oppressed by the speed and secrecy of his enterprize; and the dependent cities, as far as Laodicea and the confines of Aleppo,[i] obeyed the example of the metropolis. From Laodicea to

we should find a parallel passage of the same people in the present age. "Il n'est point d'horreur que ces Turcs n'ayent commis, et "semblables aux soldats effrenés, qui dans la sac d'une ville non "contens de disposer no tout à leur gré pretendent encore aux suc-"cès les moins desirables. Quelque Spahis ont porté leurs attentats "sur la personne du vieux rabbi de la synagogue, et celle de l'Arche-"vêque Grec." (Memoires du Baron de Tott, tom. ii, p. 103).

[h] The emperor, or abbot, describes the scenes of a Turkish camp as if they had been present. Matres correptæ in conspectû filiarum multipliciter repetitis diversorum coitibus vexabantur; (is that the true reading?) cum filiæ assistentes carmina præcinere saltandò cogerentur. Mox eadem pars ad filias, &c.

[i] See Antioch, and the death of Soliman, in Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. vi, p. 168, 169), with the notes of Ducange.

CHAP. LVII.

the Thracian Bosphorus, or arm of St George, the conquests and reign of Soliman extended thirty days journey in length, and in breadth about ten or fifteen, between the rocks of Lycia and the Black Sea.[k] The Turkish ignorance of navigation protected, for a while, the inglorious safety of the emperor; but no sooner had a fleet of two hundred ships been constructed by the hands of the captive Greeks, than Alexius trembled behind the walls of his capital. His plaintive epistles were dispersed over Europe, to excite the compassion of the Latins, and to paint the danger, the weakness, and the riches, of the city of Constantine.[l]

State and pilgrimage of Jerusalem, A. D. 638-1099.

But the most interesting conquest of the Seljukian Turks, was that of Jerusalem,[m] which soon became the theatre of nations. In their capitulation with Omar, the inhabitants had stipulated the assurance of their religion and property; but the articles were interpreted by a master against whom it was dangerous to dispute; and in the

[k] William of Tyre (l. i, c. 9, 10, p. 635) gives the most authentic and deplorable account of these Turkish conquests.

[l] In his epistle to the count of Flanders, Alexius seems to fall too low beneath his character and dignity; yet it is approved by Ducange (Not. ad Alexiad. p. 335, &c.), and paraphrased by the abbot Guibert, a contemporary historian. The Greek text no longer exists; and each translator and scribe might say with Guibert (p. 475), verbis vestita meis, a privilege of most indefinite latitude.

[m] Our best fund for the history of Jerusalem, from Heraclius to the crusades, is contained in two large and original passages of William archbishop of Tyre (l. i, c. 1-10, l. xviii, c. 5, 6), the principal author of the Gesta Dei per Francos. M. de Guignes has composed a very learned Memoire sur le Commerce des Francois dans le Levant avant les Croisades, &c. (Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxxvii, p. 467-500).

CHAP. LVII.

four hundred years of the reign of the caliphs, the political climate of Jerusalem was exposed to the vicissitudes of storm and sunshine.[n] By the increase of proselytes and population, the Mahometans might excuse their usurpation of three-fourths of the city: but a peculiar quarter was reserved for the patriarch with his clergy and people; a tribute of two pieces of gold was the price of protection; and the sepulchre of Christ, with the church of the resurrection, was still left in the hands of his votaries. Of these votaries, the most numerous and respectable portion were strangers to Jerusalem: the pilgrimages to the Holy Land had been stimulated, rather than suppressed, by the conquests of the Arabs; and the enthusiasm which had always prompted these perilous journeys, was nourished by the congenial passions of grief and indignation. A crowd of pilgrims from the East and West continued to visit the holy sepulchre, and the adjacent sanctuaries, more especially at the festival of Easter; and the Greeks and Latins, the Nestorians and Jacobites, the Copts and Abyssinians, the Armenians and Georgians, maintained the chapels, the clergy, and the poor of their respective communions. The harmony of prayer in so many various tongues, the worship of so many nations in the common temple of their

[n] Secundum Dominorum dispositionem plerumque lucida plerumque nubila recepit intervalla, ut *aerotantium* more temporum præsentium gravabatur aut respirabat qualitate (l. i, c. 9, p. 690). The latinity of William of Tyre is by no means contemptible; but in his account of 490 years, from the loss to the recovery of Jerusalem, he exceeds the true account by 90 years.

religion, might have afforded a spectacle of edification and peace; but the zeal of the christian sects was embittered by hatred and revenge; and in the kingdom of a suffering Messiah, who had pardoned his enemies, they aspired to command and persecute their spiritual brethren. The pre eminence was asserted by the spirit and numbers of the Franks; and the greatness of Charlemagne[o] protected both the Latin pilgrims, and the catholics of the East. The poverty of Carthage, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, was relieved by the alms of that pious emperor; and many monasteries of Palestine were founded or restored by his liberal devotion. Harun Alrashid, the greatest of the Abbassides, esteemed in his christian brother a similar supremacy of genius and power: their friendship was cemented by a frequent intercourse of gifts and embassies; and the caliph, without resigning the substantial dominion, presented the emperor with the keys of the holy sepulchre, and perhaps of the city of Jerusalem. In the decline of the Carlovingian monarchy, the republic of Amalphi promoted the interest of trade and religion in the East. Her vessels transported the Latin pilgrims to the coasts of Egypt and Palestine, and deserved, by their useful imports, the favour and alliance of the Fatimite caliphs:[p] an annual fair was insti- CHAP. LVII.

[o] For the transactions of Charlemagne with the Holy Land, see Eginhard (de vita Caroli Magni, c. 16, p. 79-81), Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Administratione Imperii, l. ii, c. 26, p. 80), and Pagi (Critica, tom. iii, A. D. 800, No. 13, 14, 15).

[p] The caliph granted his privileges, Amalphitanis viris amicis et utilium introductoribus (Gesta Dei, p. 931). The trade of Venice to

CHAP. LVII.

tuted on mount Calvary; and the Italian merchants founded the convent and hospital of St John of Jerusalem, the cradle of the monastic and military order, which has since reigned in the isles of Rhodes and of Malta. Had the christian pilgrims been content to revere the tomb of a prophet, the disciples of Mahomet, instead of blaming, would have imitated, their piety: but these rigid *Unitarians* were scandalised by a worship which represents the birth, death, and resurrection of a God; the catholic images were branded with the name of idols; and the Moslems smiled with indignation[q] at the miraculous flame, which was kindled on the eve of Easter in the holy sepulchre.[r] This pious fraud, first devised in the ninth century,[s] was devoutly cherished by the Latin crusaders, and is annually repeated by the clergy of the Greek, Armenian, and Coptic sects,[t] who impose on the credulous

Egypt and Palestine cannot produce so old a title, unless we adopt the laughable translation of a Frenchman, who mistook the two factions of the circus (Venеti et Prasini) for the Venetians and Parisians.

[q] An Arabic chronicle of Jerusalem (apud Asseman, Bibliot. Orient. tom. i, p. 498, tom. iv, p. 368) attests the unbelief of the caliph and the historian; yet Cantacuzene presumes to appeal to the Mahometans themselves for the truth of this perpetual miracle.

[r] In his dissertations on ecclesiastical history, the learned Mosheim has separately discussed this pretended miracle (tom. ii, p. 214-306), de lumine sancti sepulchri.

[s] William of Malmesbury (l. iv, c. ii, p. 209) quotes the *Itinerary* of the Monk Bernard, an eye witness, who visited Jerusalem A. D. 870. The miracle is confirmed by another pilgrim some years older; and Mosheim ascribes the invention to the Franks, soon after the decease of Charlemagne.

[t] Our travellers, Sandys (p. 134), Thevenot (p. 621-627), Maundrell (p. 94, 95), &c. describe this extravagant farce. The catholics are puzzled to decide *when* the miracle ended, and the trick began.

CHAP. LVII.

spectators[u] for their own benefit, and that of their tyrants. In every age, a principle of toleration has been fortified by a sense of interest; and the revenue of the prince and his emir was increased each year, by the expence and tribute of so many thousand strangers.

Under the Fatimite caliphs, A. D. 969-1076.

The revolution which transferred the sceptre from the Abbassides to the Fatimites was a benefit, rather than an injury, to the Holy Land. A sovereign resident in Egypt was more sensible of the importance of christian trade; and the emirs of Palestine were less remote from the justice and power of the throne. But the third of these Fatimite caliphs was the famous Hakem,[x] a frantic youth, who was delivered by his impiety and despotism from the fear either of God or man; and whose reign was a wild mixture of vice and folly. Regardless of the most ancient customs of Egypt, he imposed on the women an absolute confinement: the restraint excited the clamours of both sexes; their clamours provoked his fury; a part of Old Cairo was delivered to the flames; and the guards and citizens were engaged many days in a bloody conflict. At first the caliph de-

[u] The Orientals themselves confess the fraud, and plead necessity and edification (Memoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux, tom. ii, p. 140. Joseph Abu Iaeni, Hist. Copt. c. 20); but I will not attempt, with Mosheim, to explain the mode. Our travellers have failed with the blood of St Januarius at Naples.

[x] See d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 411), Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 390, 397, 400, 401), Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 321-323), and Marei (p. 384-396), an historian of Egypt, translated by Reiske from Arabic into German, and verbally interpreted to me by a friend.

CHAP. LVII.

clared himself a zealous mussulman, the founder or benefactor of moschs and colleges: twelve hundred and ninety copies of the koran were transcribed at his expence in letters of gold, and his edict extirpated the vineyards of the Upper Egypt. But his vanity was soon flattered by the hope of introducing a new religion: he aspired above the fame of a prophet, and styled himself the visible image of the most high God, who, after nine apparitions on earth, was at length manifest in his royal person. At the name of Hakem, the lord of the living and the dead, every knee was bent in religious adoration: his mysteries were performed on a mountain near Cairo: sixteen thousand converts had signed his profession of faith; and at the present hour, a free and warlike people, the Druses of mount Libanus, are persuaded of the life and divinity of a madman and tyrant.[y] In his divine character, Hakem hated the Jews and Christians, as the servants of his rivals; while some remains of prejudice or prudence still pleaded in favour of the law of Mahomet. Both in Egypt and Palestine, his cruel and wanton persecution made some martyrs and many apostates: the common rights, and spe-

[y] The religion of the Druses is concealed by their ignorance and hypocrisy. Their secret doctrines are confined to the elect who profess a contemplative life; and the vulgar Druses, the most indifferent of men, occasionally conform to the worship of the Mahometans and Christians of their neighbourhood. The little that is, or deserves to be, known, may be seen in the industrious Niebuhr (voyages, tom. ii, p. 354-357), and the second volume of the recent and instructive Travels of M. de Volney.

CHAP. LVII.

cial privileges of the sectaries were equally disregarded; and a general interdict was laid on the devotion of strangers and natives. The temple of the christian world, the church of the resurrection, was demolished to its foundations; the luminous prodigy of Easter was interrupted, and much profane labour was exhausted to destroy the cave in the rock which properly constitutes the holy sepulchre. At the report of this sacrilege, the nations of Europe were astonished and afflicted; but instead of arming in the defence of the Holy Land, they contented themselves with the burning or banishing the Jews, as the secret advisers of the impious barbarian.* Yet the calamities of Jerusalem were in some measure alleviated by the inconstancy or repentance of Hakem himself; and the royal mandate was sealed for the restitution of the churches, when the tyrant was assassinated by the emissaries of his sister. The succeeding caliphs resumed the maxims of religion and policy; a free toleration was again granted; with the pious aid of the emperor of Constantinople, the holy sepulchre arose from its ruins; and after a short abstinence, the pilgrims returned with an increase of appetite to the spiritual feast.* In the

Sacrilege of Hakem, A. D. 1009.

* See Glaber, l. iii, c. 7, and the annals of Baronius and Pagi, A. D. 1009.

* Per idem tempus ex universo orbe tam innumerabilis multitudo cœpit confluere ad sepulchrum Salvatoris Hierosolymis, quantum nullus hominum prius sperare poterat. Ordo inferioris plebis .... mediocres ..... reges et comites .... præsules ..... mulieres multæ nobiles cum pauperioribus ... Pluribus enim erat mentis desiderium mori priusquam ad propria reverterentur (Glaber, l. iv, c. 6. Bouquet, Historians of France, tom. x, p. 50).

CHAP. LVII.

sea-voyage of Palestine, the dangers were frequent, and the opportunities rare: but the conversion of Hungary opened a safe communication between Germany and Greece. The charity of St Stephen, the apostle of his kingdom, relieved and conducted his itinerant brethren,[b] and from Belgrade to Antioch, they traversed fifteen hundred miles of a christian empire. Among the Franks, the zeal of pilgrimage prevailed beyond the example of former times; and the roads were covered with multitudes of either sex, and of every rank, who professed their contempt of life, so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their redeemer. Princes and prelates abandoned the care of their dominions; and the numbers of these pious caravans were a prelude to the armies which marched in the ensuing age under the banner of the cross. About thirty years before the first crusade, the archbishop of Mentz, with the bishops of Utrecht, Bamberg, and Ratisbon, undertook this laborious journey from the Rhine to the Jordan; and the multitude of their followers amounted to seven thousand persons. At Constantinople, they were hospitably entertained by the emperor; but the ostentation of their wealth provoked the assault of the wild Arabs; they drew their swords with scrupulous reluctance, and sustained a siege in the village of Capernaum, till they were rescued by the venal protection of the Fatimite emir. After visiting the holy places, they embarked for Italy, but

Increase of pilgrimages, A. D. 1024, &c.

[b] Glaber, l. iii, c. 1. Katona (Hist. Critic. Regum Hungariæ, tom. i, p. 304-311) examines whether St Stephen founded a monastery at Jerusalem.

CHAP. LVII.

only a remnant of two thousand arrived in safety in their native land. Ingulphus, a secretary of William the Conqueror, was a companion of this pilgrimage: he observes that they sallied from Normandy, thirty stout and well-appointed horsemen; but that they repassed the Alps, twenty miserable palmers, with the staff in their hand, and the wallet at their back.[c]

Conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, A. D. 1076-1096.

After the defeat of the Romans, the tranquillity of the Fatimite caliphs was invaded by the Turks.[d] One of the lieutenants of Malek Shah, Atsiz the Carizmian, marched into Syria at the head of a powerful army, and reduced Damascus by famine and the sword. Hems and the other cities of the province, acknowledged the caliph of Bagdad and the sultan of Persia, and the victorious emir advanced without resistance to the banks of the Nile: the Fatimite was preparing to fly into the heart of Africa; but the negroes of his guard and the inhabitants of Cairo made a desperate sally, and repulsed the Turk from the confines of Egypt. In his retreat, he indulged the license of slaughter and rapine: the judge and notaries of Jerusalem were invited to his camp; and their execution was followed by the massacre of three thousand citizens. The cruelty or the defeat of Atsiz was soon punished

[c] Baronius (A. D. 1064, No. 43-50) has transcribed the greater part of the original narratives of Ingulphus, Marianus, and Lambertus.

[d] See Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 349, 350), and Abulpharagius Dynast. (p. 237, vers. Pocock). M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. part i. p. 215, 216) adds the two dynasties, or rather the names, of Alp Arslan and Novairi.

CHAP. LVII.

by the sultan Toucush, the brother of Malek Shah, who, with a higher title and more formidable powers, asserted the dominion of Syria and Palestine. The house of Seljuk reigned about twenty years in Jerusalem;[e] but the hereditary command of the holy city and territory was entrusted or abandoned to the emir Ortok, the chief of a tribe of Turkmans, whose children, after their expulsion from Palestine, formed two dynasties on the borders of Armenia and Assyria.[f] The Oriental Christians and the Latin pilgrims deplored a revolution, which, instead of the regular government and old alliance of the caliphs, imposed on their necks the iron yoke of the strangers of the north.[g] In his camp and court the present sultan had adopted in some degree the arts and manners of Persia; but the body of the Turkish nation, and more especially the pastoral tribes, still breathed the fierceness of the desert. From Nice to Jerusalem, the western countries of Asia were a scene of foreign and domestic hostility; and the shepherds

[e] From the expedition of Isar Atsiz (A. H. 469, A. D. 1076) to the expulsion of the Ortokides (A. D. 1096). Yet William of Tyre (l. i, c. 6, p. 633) asserts that Jerusalem was thirty-eight years in the hands of the Turks; and an Arabic chronicle quoted by Pagi (tom. iv, p. 702), supposes, that the city was reduced by a Carizmian general to the obedience of the caliph of Bagdad, A. H. 463, A. D. 1070. These early dates are not very compatible with the general history of Asia; and I am sure, that as late as A. D. 1064, the regnum Babylonicum (of Cairo) still prevailed in Palestine (Baronius, A. D. 1064, No. 56).

[f] De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i, p. 249-252.

[g] Willerm. Tyr. l. i, c. 8, p. 634, who strives hard to magnify the christian grievances. The Turks exacted an *aureus* from each pilgrim! The *caphar* of the Franks is now fourteen dollars; and Europe does not complain of this voluntary tax.

of Palestine, who held a precarious sway on a doubtful frontier, had neither leisure nor capacity to await the slow profits of commercial and religious freedom. The pilgrims, who, through innumerable perils, had reached the gates of Jerusalem, were the victims of private rapine or public oppression, and often sunk under the pressure of famine and disease, before they were permitted to salute the holy sepulchre. A spirit of native barbarism, or recent zeal, prompted the Turkmans to insult the clergy of every sect: the patriarch was dragged by the hair along the pavement, and cast into a dungeon, to extort a ransom from the sympathy of his flock; and the divine worship in the church of the resurrection was often disturbed by the savage rudeness of its masters. The pathetic tale excited the millions of the West to march under the standard of the cross to the relief of the Holy Land; and yet how trifling is the sum of these accumulated evils, if compared with the single act of the sacrilege of Hakem, which had been so patiently endured by the Latin Christians! A slighter provocation inflamed the more irascible temper of their descendants: a new spirit had arisen of religious chivalry and papal dominion: a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling; and the sensation vibrated to the heart of Europe. CHAP. LVII.

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME.

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